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China Report

RED FLAG

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CHINA REPORT

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

CONTENTS

Correctly Understand the Situation and the Policies and Uphold the Four Basic Principles (pp 2-11) (RED FLAG Editorial Department).....	1
Commenting on the So-Called Opposition to the Class of Bureaucrats (pp 12-18) (Lin Boye, Shen Che).....	17
Studying Zhou Enlai's 'On the Economic Construction of the New Democratic Period' (pp 19-23) (Xu Dixin).....	27
It Is Necessary To Attach Great Importance to the Grain Problem (pp 24-26) (Liang Yan).....	35
Run Forestry Work According to Law (pp 27-31) (Policy Research Office of the Ministry of Forestry).....	41
The Vicissitudes of Forests in the Middle Reaches of the Huanghe River and the Experiences and Lessons They Provide (pp 30-34) (Shi Nianhai).....	48
Modern Art and Us (pp 35-38) (Wang Qi).....	
Why Must China Practice Freedom of Religious Belief Today? (pp 39-40) (Lei Zhenchang).....	51

Modernization and Environmental Protection (pp 41-48)	
(Ma Shijun, et al.).....	64
Establish and Develop Scientific and Technological	
Advisory Organs in China (p 49)	
(Jin Liangjun).....	79

CORRECTLY UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION AND THE POLICIES AND UPHOLD THE FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 81 pp 2-11

[Article by RED FLAG Editorial Department]

[Text] The whole party, the entire army and the people of all nationalities of the country are now studying and discussing the documents of the central work conference, so that on the basis of unified thinking they can more closely rally around the party Central Committee and jointly make tireless and persevering efforts to carry out the major guideline of further readjusting the economy and achieving greater political stability. By carrying out this guideline, we can surely lay a stronger foundation for the socialist modernization of our country. In this article, we take up several relevant major problems.

1. A Correct Understanding of the Situation

In the past few years, the party Central Committee has always claimed that the domestic situation of our country has been getting better and better with every passing year, that the economic situation has been improving from year to year and that the political situation was becoming increasingly stable year after year. This claim is totally based on the facts.

First, take the economic situation. It should be noted that the economic situation in 1980 was really better than that of 1979. Our industry in 1980 showed a growth of 8.4 percent compared with 1979--the set plans were overfulfilled.

More important, our production was better geared to the needs of the people. Grain output in agriculture registered a slight drop, but even so it was the second highest year since the founding of the state. Output of cotton, oil-bearing and other economic crops exceeded the previous highest levels in history. Whether in urban or rural areas most of the people enjoyed a higher living standard. Income for many rural areas has doubled. Most of the urban workers have gotten an increase in wages. In the 4 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," all the cities in the country have found work for over 26 million people. Commodity prices have gone up a little but have now basically stabilized. It can be said with certainty that the economic situation in our country has rarely been so favorable since the founding of the state.

Why is it claimed that there are potential dangers? Because this is a fact. The main danger does not lie in the financial deficit. The deficit can be entirely or basically erased after an amount of effort this year. The main danger is that the "leftist" thinking in our economic work has not been completely overcome. For example, we have for a year tried to reduce the scale of capital construction but have gotten nowhere. The situation of building overlapping projects and building projects blindly is still very serious. People have disregarded party and state policies, giving bonuses freely, spending money lavishly and causing shocking waste. There are also many spontaneous expressions of anarchism. All these are products of "leftist" thinking. The party Central Committee is determined to change this situation. But many of our comrades fail to understand this. They are not so resolute in their attitude. Some have even acted against the relevant policy. Therefore the party Central Committee has now solemnly raised this problem. It has called upon the whole party and the entire population to overcome the "leftist" thinking in economic work and urged everyone to deal with this matter.

How about the political situation? It should be said that the situation is now not only better than before the 3d Plenary Session but better than in 1979--with greater stability and more progress being witnessed. First, the rural situation is better than before. Most of the rural areas have shown greater stability. With the peasants representing 80 percent of the whole population, stability among them means that the overwhelming majority of people and most of the areas have shown greater stability. Second, generally speaking the major and medium-sized cities of the country have also registered greater stability. There have been disturbances but these have involved only an extremely small percentage of the population. For a big country like China, disturbances are inevitable. We do not support these disturbances. Even in cases involving serious bureaucratic mistakes and other defects in certain leadership organs and leadership departments, we do not encourage making trouble to seek a solution. This can only cause losses to the state, the people and our common socialist cause. We should have confidence that, given the socialist system and the new historical conditions of today, we can completely go through normal channels to correctly solve the contradictions among the people, based on the proper readjustment of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. Third, the party Central Committee's leadership is now strong and powerful, and the core of the leadership is also marked with greater stability. In the history of our party, there once appeared such phenomena as letting one person lay down the law and letting patriarchal behavior prevail. On the surface, the situation was very stable. But political life within the party was extremely abnormal, given the lack of collective leadership and the absence of the normal practice of criticism and self-criticism. It was actually a very unstable situation. Now things have changed. As far as the party Central Committee is concerned, everything is now done according to the fine traditions of our party. Major problems are subjected to discussion; an individual's word is no longer taken as law; collective leadership is practiced instead; the relationship between comrades is entirely one of equality; anyone who disagrees boldly speaks out; anyone who has erred is criticized in a down-to-earth manner.

In sum since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session, political life among the leadership of the party Central Committee--which

is the core--has been increasingly democratic, increasingly perfect, increasingly lively and increasingly realistic. There has therefore been increasingly greater unity. The comrades of the whole party and the whole population can have complete confidence in the leadership core, the party Central Committee.

In sum, we must take a dialectical approach to the situation. We cannot adopt the other way of thinking that puts things in absolute terms. What is good is often treated as the acme of perfection with nothing left to be desired. What is bad is treated as absolutely bad with everything painted black, so much so that under given conditions a bad thing cannot be turned into a good thing. This is a metaphysical approach and not a correct way of thinking. We mention the very favorable economic situation but at the same time point out the potential dangers. We mention the very favorable political situation but at the same time never avoid facing the existing problems. This gives us an overall understanding of things instead of a one-sided understanding. In our determination to develop a favorable situation, we must realistically remove all potential dangers in the economic field, strive to overcome unstable factors in the political field and solve all actual problems in practice. By so doing, we can always remain sober. Looking back over history, we may say that if in 1957 we had not taken a lopsided view of things and had mentioned the unusually favorable situation in socialist transformation and construction while pointing out the lurking explosive dangers, then we might not have made mistakes, or at least could have avoided making big mistakes. If after the smashing of the "gang of four," we had just mentioned what was good while not pointing out what was bad, and if we had mentioned the great victory scored in smashing the "gang of four" while pointing out the need to never underestimate the disruption caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," then we would have had a better understanding of the latter and could have avoided saying lies in 1978, or could have said fewer of them. Our work would have then suffered less. Only by understanding and raising problems according to the actual conditions of things, formulating the correct guideline and taking it as a means to educate the whole party and the whole population can we always emerge triumphant.

2. A Correct Understanding of Party Policies

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the 3d Plenary Session, our party has defined a line completely different from that during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and carried out a series of policies completely different from those during the "Great Cultural Revolution." By the line, we mean the ideological, political and organizational lines. By a series of policies, we mean very wide-ranging policies. For example, there is the economic policy, which in itself embodies many concrete policies, such as the wage policy, the commodities policy, the industrial policy, the agricultural policy, and so forth. There are also many political policies, such as the policy toward cadres, the policy toward intellectuals, the nationalities policy, the united front policy, and so forth. At present, of the various policies, some have been restored; those practiced before the "Great Cultural Revolution" have been revived. Some have been not only restored but have also been developed, with past policies having been both restored and developed. Some are brandnew policies, such as the policy calling for extensively reversing verdicts on

frameups and false charges. Given changed conditions and historical development, policies must change and develop. We must approach the party's policies from the standpoint of development.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session, we have followed a completely different line and practiced a series of completely different policies. A clear distinction is made where the line before the "Great Cultural Revolution" is concerned. Only this is called turning chaos into order. Only this is a return to the orbit of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and a real case of upholding the four basic principles.

The term "turning chaos into order" originally appeared in the "Story of Yang Gong," which said: "Turn a chaotic world into a peaceful one." In the words of today, we must pay attention to the chaotic situation and guide its development in the right direction, namely, the direction of normal and healthy development. Therefore, if we still follow the beaten track in line and policy, or if we basically follow the same old line, then it is not a case of turning chaos into order. Instead, it is a case of continuously upholding what was wrong during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Facts show that in the past 4 years, especially since the 3d Plenary Session, the new line and the new policies followed by our party have worked and have won the support of the broadest mass of cadres and the broadest mass of people.

Has every policy been perfect and flawless? We cannot say this. Any correct policy, from the Marxist standpoint, is a relatively good or proper policy geared to reality in a given historical period. Anything correct is only relative, as far as its closeness to objective truth is concerned. But as far as a given historical period is concerned, it is also closest to objective truth. Anything good is only relative to some other things. When we say that a policy is correct, we mean that it is when compared with another. Nothing exists if there are no contradictions. Differences are also contradictions. Things in the world can be judged only in relative terms. This basic way of thinking is made very clear in Comrade Mao Zedong's "Protracted War," "On Contradictions" and other works. Some comrades say that they are afraid that the party Central Committee's policies may be changing all the time. This problem must also be analyzed. Our party's basic policies have not changed. For example, the basic policy of turning chaos into order has not changed. When some concrete stipulations under a major policy do not work out very well in the first year, we make some changes in the following year. This is not basic policy change. It is a case of revising and supplementing the concrete stipulations under this policy. This is inevitable and normal and is beneficial to the cause of the party and the people. Therefore, it should be seen that since the 3d Plenary Session, our party's basic policies have not changed. It is only that some concrete stipulations embodied in basic policies have been improved and further developed. For a fairly long period of time to come we must adhere to the line and basic policies defined at the 3d Plenary Session.

3. Consolidate and Develop the Political Situation of Stability and Unity

The current task confronting our whole party is to make our national economy grow steadily and make the political situation of our country remain stable forever.

This is the main wish of the people of the whole country and also our party's fixed guideline. The steady growth of the national economy and constant political stability are conditional upon each other and promote each other. A stable political situation provides conditions and a guarantee for the steady growth of the national economy. The steady growth of the national economy in turn adds to the favorable factors in a stable political situation and helps strengthen the material foundation. In other words, the more stable the political situation, the greater the possibility of the growth of the national economy. The more protracted and balanced the growth of the national economy, the greater the policy of unity. These principles are clear to the people. However, by advocating stability and unity, we do not mean promoting the philosophy of Chinese philosopher Lao Zi, which calls for watching on the sidelines and letting things take their own course. On the very contrary, we have many things to do. Why should we have put forward the slogan of consolidating and developing the political situation of stability and unity? This is because there are factors unfavorable to stability and unity. To consolidate and develop the favorable situation of stability and unity, we must get rid of factors unfavorable to stability and unity and develop the favorable ones. Our country has now abolished the old system of man exploiting man and man oppressing man and has introduced a new system calling for complete equality, unity, friendship, and mutual help and cooperation among the people of all nationalities.

This basically guarantees our state's maintaining a permanent political situation of stability and unity. However, it should be noted that since our new society has been built on the old society, factors unfavorable to stability and unity will continue to exist for a long period to come. Where there is class struggle, there are factors unfavorable to stability and unity. Differing views, if not properly treated, will also create factors unfavorable to unity and stability. Therefore to consolidate and carry forward the political situation of stability and unity is a long-term task and a protracted struggle.

At present, in continuously consolidating and developing the political situation of stability and unity, what are those problems that should be given particular attention?

First, we must continuously promote socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system and firmly and properly fight counterrevolutionaries and various criminal offenders. Counterrevolutionaries and various criminal offenders are the greatest and most dangerous factor in disrupting our country's stability and unity. In fighting counterrevolutionaries and criminal offenders, we have two weapons. One is people's democracy and the other the people's legal system. These are two inseparable weapons. Socialist democracy is something indispensable when it comes to making the people of our country the masters of the house and giving full play to their enthusiasm, initiative and creativity in building socialism. In promoting socialism, we cannot simply rely on a small number of people. Instead, we must rely on the enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of the masses of people, and give full play to their wisdom, talents and abilities in working for us. The correct ideas and general and specific policies of our party and state have embodied the greatest and long-term interests of the masses of people, therefore, democracy and centralism are inseparable. Democracy and

leadership are also inseparable. Given the lack of centralization and the lack of leadership, unified views and unified general and specific policies cannot develop. Nor can the common interests of the masses of people be embodied. What is called democracy? Some young people think that it means that anyone can do whatever he wants and in any way he chooses. This is a distortion of democracy or a mark of ignorance. Democracy is an embodiment of the will, the rights and the common wish of the great majority of people. If we do whatever we want and in any way we choose, this is not democracy. This is anarchism and outright individualism. It runs counter to democracy. If an individual acts against the will of the majority of people and violates their rights, how should we deal with him? This calls for relying on law. Law is an indispensable weapon with which to express the will of the great majority of people, maintain the rights of the broadest mass of people and protect the interests of the broadest mass of people. Therefore democracy is inseparable from the legal system. Some people say that democracy means doing away with law and that law means doing away with democracy. This is wrong. Marx said that law must become a conscious expression of the people's will. Law should be produced at the same time as the people's will arises and be created by the latter. Based on this Marxist conclusion, Lenin said that law is an expression of the will of the class which has achieved victory and seized control of the state, and that law is an expression of the will of the masses of people. Therefore the idea of setting democracy in opposition to law is wrong. We must continuously develop the people's democracy and improve the people's legal system so that the people of the whole country can more effectively fight counterrevolutionaries and various criminal offenders.

Second, we must make further efforts to eliminate those factors unfavorable to stability and unity within our cadres. Our party and state have a fairly large army of cadres, which is now over 19.2 million strong. This force, generally speaking, is relatively good. But its members show great differences politically and ideologically. Many problems have also been left over from history. We have solved many problems but many more still remain to be continuously solved.

For example, there is the problem of unity between worker-peasant cadres and educated cadres, the problem of unity between Han cadres and the cadres of minority nationalities, and also the problem of unity among comrades who have historically made fewer mistakes. In the past 10 or 20 years, every one of us has lived under the guidance of "leftist" thinking. What is "leftist" has affected every one of our cadres. The only difference between them is the degree to which they have been affected and how deep this influence runs in them. We have launched many political movements which have given rise to unusually complicated conditions. Some people have acted according to orders, but there are also some who have taken things into their own hands. Therefore much misunderstanding has now arisen among our cadres because of historical reasons. Those who have made serious mistakes but have not made self-criticisms think that they have always been right. We must, of course, continue to criticize and educate them and fervently help them to correct themselves. But as long as they are not the target of the people's great indignation or are not beyond help, we must adhere to the guideline calling for unity and education. This is to say that in our approach to those comrades who have made mistakes or made relatively serious ones,

we should talk about uniting and understanding them, as always advocated by the party Central Committee, as long as these people have made self-criticisms and corrected themselves. Why is it that for several decades Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Liu Shaoqi always said that our cadres must cherish great proletarian ideals? Without cherishing the great proletarian ideals, we communists cannot do a good job of uniting people. In conducting education on party spirit, we must not only teach party members to understand fundamental party principles but also teach them, especially the leading cadres, to cherish the great proletarian ideals. Among our party members, there are a relatively large number of cadres who started out as small producers. As far as small producers are concerned, they are relatively narrowminded and relatively attentive to the interests of small groups and lack the proletarian quality of being openminded. We must advocate taking the whole situation into consideration and sharing the same views on general problems. We must try to understand each other where minor and secondary problems are concerned. We must persist in considering the historical social factors that were the original causes of mistakes, and must not go too far in holding individuals responsible. Without following this rule, we cannot properly bring about unity. By general problems, we mean the problem about the party's line and general and specific policies and especially the problem of attitude to the existing line and general and specific policies of the party. Minor problems, especially the one of personal feelings, are not to be taken seriously. In this respect, many comrades within our party have performed well. They are unusually broadminded. They never take minor problems seriously and think nothing of personal feelings. They command the masses' respect. On the contrary, those narrowminded people who are bent on seeking revenge and ganging up to form factions cannot win the trust of the masses, no matter how capable they are.

Third, we must further improve our party's political life. Our party is now the ruling party. If the party's political life is abnormal, this will lead to disunity and instability within the whole country and within society. In the history of our party--in the Yanan period, in the period of the war of liberation and in the period shortly after liberation--the party's political life followed a very satisfactory pattern. The pity was that the regular pattern of party life was greatly disrupted during the "Great Cultural Revolution." It has not yet entirely returned to normal. In light of historical experience, the abnormal pattern of party political life mainly finds expression in three respects: 1) the lack of real democratic centralism and the practice of taking what an individual says as the law; 2) the lack of down-to-earth criticism and self-criticism and the practice of seeking revenge and launching vengeful attacks when criticism has been made; and 3) inner-party struggle being carried to excess, unprovoked ruthless struggle and resorting to relentless blows. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee has resolved to restore the normal pattern of our party's political life.

We have worked out the "Guiding Principles on Inner-Party Political Life," activated the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and formulated the new draft of the party's constitution. This has become an effective weapon in improving our party's political life.

We admit that there are contradictions within the party and there is thus also struggle. This is because class struggle within given limits is reflected in party life. Meanwhile the conflict between new and old things and the conflict between correct and wrong ideas are also reflected in inner-party life. Therefore in the past several years the party Central Committee has repeatedly stressed that in restoring the normal pattern of our party's life, we must chiefly rely on improving the system of democratic centralism, exercising collective leadership, unfolding criticism and self-criticism and establishing the relationship of equality between comrades. This is to say that we must restore and carry forward our party's fine traditions and give up all those things that are incompatible with these traditions.

In sum, we must think out ways and means to make our inner-party life more lively and active. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: Our goal is to create a political situation marked by both democracy and centralism, both discipline and freedom and both unified will and personal ease of mind. This situation must first be created within our party. If it is not brought about within the party, it cannot be throughout the country.

Fourth, we must take a correct approach to young people. Our party has traditionally shown concern for young people. Youths represent our future and our hopes. Marx said that young people are the source of mankind. Young people, including adolescents, account for one-third of the total population of the country. As far as young people are concerned, most of them are good, industrious and ambitious and full of pep. They study and work hard and dare to create the new. They pay attention to moral training and keep raising their level of political consciousness, their scientific and cultural levels and their vocational level. They strive to link their own study and manual and mental work closely with the state's destiny, the nation's future and the four modernizations. These qualities represent the main trend among young people. The three good students, the learn-from-Lei Feng activists, the shock workers on the new march, the elite CYL members, the heroic models on various fronts, especially those martyrs who bravely fought criminal offenders and sacrificed their lives to save others--all of them are a manifestation of the main trend among young people. But it should be noted that certain problems now exist among young people, adding to the factors responsible for social instability. For example, there is the problem of education. This especially gives rise to some concrete problems. Two such problems are: 1) We must do everything possible to enable the young people to have the chance to get an education either by studying at school or receiving an education on a part-time basis while on the job; and 2) we must provide them with employment. Without work, young people may make trouble. The two problems of education and employment have been solved by us, to a large degree. In the future we must further enlarge the scope of employment, with the view of thoroughly solving the problem.

Among the young people, there is really an extremely small number of people who are not good, who are mainly interested in enjoying themselves, who have lapsed into being bums, or who have carried out certain activities in defiance of law and discipline. This unhealthy phenomenon may be attributed to historical social factors, such as the influence of exploiting-class thinking left over from the old

society, the consequences of the sabotage in the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the corrosive effect of bourgeois thinking in our switchover from a closed to an open society, and so forth. But the comrades of our whole party must realize that in educating the younger generation we have heavy responsibilities on our shoulders. What we have done in this respect still falls far short of what we consider good. Those errant young people have fallen into bad habits due to ignorance.

This has left a scar on their souls. As long as we show concern for them and patiently and conscientiously do our work in enlightening and encouraging them, most of them can be saved. Those young people keen on carrying out illegal political activities, though prompted by different motives, share a common feature, namely, that they have little or no general or fundamental political knowledge. They have gotten mired in anarchism and outright individualism from which they could not extricate themselves. For example, they condemn Marxism without having ever read any Marxist work. They admire capitalism, without understanding the nature of capitalism. They place democracy and freedom above everything else, without knowing anything about the following: What is democracy; what is freedom; how is democracy linked to centralism, leadership, law and the will of the majority of people; what are the fundamental differences between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy; what are the relations between freedom, on the one hand, and obligations, discipline, social responsibility and the overall growth of an individual, on the other; whether there is a kind of freedom that allows people to be free from any responsibility, from any restraint, from the fulfillment of a citizen's obligations and from observing general moral principles, and so forth. Without understanding what is right or wrong about these major problems, they have instead a high opinion of themselves and use the slogans of democracy and freedom to disturb the state's political life. Isn't this taking important state business as child's play? However, we must have confidence that as long as we commit ourselves, use the method of setting forth facts and reasoning things out and give them convincing education and guidance, most of them can be made to turn over a new leaf. As the vanguard of the working class, we communists assume the weighty historical responsibility of transforming the world, transforming China and transforming mankind, including ourselves. Just as things can be changed, so men can be transformed. As long as we are good at giving guidance, enlightenment and education and seriously do our political and ideological work well, we can put young people in the right political direction and save and win over those youths who have taken a misstep or gone astray. We must show the confidence and the vigor needed to do so.

Generally speaking, for a big country like ours committed to socialist modernization, we must pay attention to educating the younger generation and training them into new-type socialist people, because they are the source of future party and state cadres. Concerning the problem of cadres, we must continuously adhere to the principle calling for young, educated and specialized cadres—we must do this while following the socialist road. We must combine boldness with prudence in picking and using outstanding middle-aged and young cadres. As far as young people are concerned, what should they now chiefly do and how to do it? They must study hard and get properly prepared for governing the state. The most important factor is that they should embrace a communist world outlook, receive

communist moral training, acquire modern scientific knowledge and receive all-round education in the moral, intellectual and physical fields.

4. We Must Firmly and Unwaveringly Uphold the Four Basic Principles

The four basic principles bear on the future and destiny of our party and state. They were put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the meeting on ideological guidelines called by the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee on 30 March 1979. Why was this problem raised? Of course, it was not directed at things before the "Great Cultural Revolution," because our party always upheld the four basic principles before the "Great Cultural Revolution." Nor was it directed at Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, because they involved not a problem of upholding the four basic principles but a problem of willfully distorting, altering and undermining the four basic principles in an overall manner. The problem was raised chiefly because since the smashing of the "gang of four," the confidence of some comrades of our party regarding the four basic principles has been shaken to different degrees. Since the problem was raised, some comrades still have not become sober, or still have doubts.

Concerning certain serious erroneous ideas opposing the four basic principles, we have not effectively refuted them in our propaganda. Therefore the recent central work conference has reaffirmed the need to uphold the four basic principles.

As far as adherence to the socialist road is concerned, some people really do have doubts about the superiority of the socialist system. These people can be found among young people and among cadres. They have not understood things correctly, just because we have failed in our work, and especially because the superiority of the socialist system has not been given full play due to sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They equate the superior features of the socialist system with the mistakes in our work and with the sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Upon seeing or hearing something superficial--such as seeing one or two glamorous things in a socialist society, or hearing an embellished broadcast by certain foreign countries--some people have especially fallen into the habit of blindly admiring capitalism and underrating our socialist system. They do not know that capitalist society is one of man exploiting man and basically cannot be compared with the advanced system of socialist society. We must educate our party members and cadres and our young people, so that they can clearly see this problem. On the other hand, there are some comrades who consider that our existing policy is one of not promoting socialism or of upholding the socialist road but one of revisionism which encourages following the capitalist road. This view is completely wrong. Whether in the industrial or agricultural field, our existing policy has never deviated from the socialist orbit. We have abolished the system of man exploiting man and man oppressing man. Our socialist system of ownership by the whole people or collective ownership is a predominating economic form. We will firmly advance along the great socialist road. Why is it that some comrades have gotten the wrong ideas? This is because they have not completely rid their minds of the poisonous influence that the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" has had on them. For example, some comrades have now equated the existing situation of speculation and profiteering with our guideline allowing a number of our people to get rich first. How can the two things be

lumped together? In the past, no matter how you performed in production, you got the same treatment--pay not based on the amount of work done and more work not rewarded with more pay. The idea of letting a number of people get rich first means resolutely carrying out the socialist distribution principle of each one working according to his ability and receiving pay based on the amount of work done. Anyone who does more work gets more pay. Anyone who does his work well and does more work is allowed to get rich first. How can it be a case of promoting speculation and profiteering? On the contrary, speculation and profiteering can never be reconciled with our policy and are forbidden by state laws. It can be seen that it is no simple matter to get rid of remnant poison, shatter the shackles of convention and overcome the ossified state of mind. The tendency in these two respects must be rectified by using the method of setting forth facts and reasoning things out.

As far as upholding the proletarian dictatorship is concerned, two different situations have also arisen. One is that certain people basically want to get rid of the proletarian dictatorship. They claim that the proletariat has been wrong in exercising dictatorship. Some young people have also called for practicing the two-party system of some bourgeois countries. This is wrong and cannot be allowed. We should also take note of another situation, namely, that some comrades talk about promoting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Actually, they want a return to the time the "gang of four" ran wild. This means that among the people, none is allowed to say or do anything freely, no matter what happens. Therefore we should first make things clear about what is the dictatorship of the proletariat. In his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong said pointedly: "Coordination between democracy among the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries is people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" practiced "overall dictatorship," calling the great majority of cadres "capitalist roaders" and putting intellectuals in the "stinking ninth category," and all of them were made the target of dictatorship. This meant distorting and disrupting the proletarian dictatorship. When we call for upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must pay attention to opposing these two erroneous tendencies. Now the exploiting class no longer exists as a class. Those of the exploiting class who have not been properly transformed represent only an extremely small percentage. The target of dictatorship has become smaller and the scope of the people has been enlarged. Therefore we should now unite over 98 percent of the people. Under the leadership of our party, the more than 900 million people should get united in exercising dictatorship over an extremely small number of real enemies. This is because there now still exist counterrevolutionaries, serious criminal offenders, and also exploiting-class elements who have not been completely transformed, all of them the target of dictatorship. Therefore if we completely negate class struggle and say that there will in the future be no more class struggle, this is wrong.

Upholding party leadership is the key to upholding the four basic principles. Now some people want to give up party leadership and negate party leadership. This is completely wrong, and we must repeatedly make things clear to people

about this truth! Without the Communist Party, there would not have been new China. New China was established by the people of all nationalities of the country led in the common struggle by the Chinese Communist Party. Without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, socialism could not have been brought about and still less will communism be realized. Concerning our attitude inside and outside the party toward leadership, getting rid of, doing away with and opposing party leadership, we must carry out criticism, education and even struggle, if necessary. On the other hand, to uphold party leadership, we must improve party leadership. Only by improving party leadership can we uphold party leadership. How to seek improvement? Many things remain to be done in this respect, the most important of which is to strengthen the party's political and ideological work. Apart from mastering the relevant general and specific policies and deciding on the use of important cadres, the party leadership organs at all levels must devote most of their time and their energy to political and ideological work, matters related to people, and mass work. As far as building the party is concerned, two very important matters must at present be given attention. First, we must tighten control on the organizational life of the party. Every party member must lead a party member's life. In our party, we must practice democratic centralism and insist on properly making criticism and self-criticism. Party members must firmly and unwaveringly carry out the party's line and general and specific policies. Those who insist on opposing the party's line and general and specific policies and are incorrigible cannot stay in the party. Second, we must promote our party's work style in a down-to-earth manner. There are more than these two ways to improve party leadership. For example, we must still really study the problem of our party's system of organization, as far as state leadership is concerned. In building the party, however, we must in the next 2 or 3 years put emphasis on these 2 ways, in order to make our party's organizational life normal and restore our party's work style at least to the level of that before the "Great Cultural Revolution."

About the principle of upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, there has been a lot of controversy in the past 3 years. On this matter, however, many comrades of the party Central Committee, and Comrade Deng Xiaoping first of all, have made many statements. The leading comrades of the party Central Committee have repeatedly said that there are chiefly two problems. They are:

First, Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions are the primary factor. Comrade Mao Zedong performed great deeds for our party, for the Chinese revolution and for the Chinese people. This is an historical fact that cannot be denied. However, Comrade Mao Zedong also erred in the twilight of his life. As far as his whole life is concerned, his mistakes were the secondary factor.

Only by making these points clear can we be fair and realistic. Is it realistic to say nothing about Comrade Mao Zedong's magnificent contributions? It is not. Is it realistic to mention only Comrade Mao Zedong's magnificent contributions and say nothing about his mistakes? It is similarly not. If we accuse Comrade Mao Zedong of having erred, does this mean that we are more brilliant than he? No. Our party and the leading comrades of our party Central Committee have repeatedly said that to this day, no member in our party, living or otherwise, has ever surpassed Mao Zedong in making contributions. Among the revolutionaries

of the older generation, it is still Comrade Mao Zedong who has made the greatest contributions. Is it that by just accusing Comrade Mao Zedong of being wrong, we are ourselves claiming to be right? No. Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes were his own. Our mistakes are our own. However, it cannot be said that just because we ourselves are wrong, we cannot accuse Comrade Mao Zedong of being wrong. Therefore, it is realistic to admit Comrade Mao Zedong's magnificent contributions and point out his mistakes at the same time. To fail to do either of these is not a realistic approach.

Second, Mao Zedong Thought must be upheld, but at the same time we must distinguish Mao Zedong Thought from Comrade Mao's thinking in the twilight of his life. To uphold Mao Zedong Thought while distinguishing it from the errors in Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking in the twilight of his life--this is a puzzle to some people including certain young people who are too sure of themselves. Why is this problem a puzzle? When we say Mao Zedong Thought we mean a definite scientific term. We treat it the same as Marxism. Marxism is a special scientific term. The science of Marxism is a science for the proletarian revolution. Is Marxism exactly the same as Marx' thinking? No. Marxism is related to Marx as a person, but is something different. The establishment of Marxism relied chiefly but not entirely on Marx. Engels was also involved. But Marxism has been historically known not as Marxism-Engelsism but Marxism--as a representative. This problem was put by Engels very clearly. He said, if we have contributed a science to mankind then it is chiefly due to Marx; Marx is in the first chair of an orchestra and I am at most in the second chair. The same applies to Mao Zedong. In the long struggle of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong and other Chinese Communist Party members combined Marxism with the practice of the Chinese revolution and concretely applied and developed it. Only by doing so did they bring Mao Zedong Thought into being. Mao Zedong Thought was, first, Comrade Mao Zedong's contribution, second, his fellow fighters' contribution and, third, the experiences of the Chinese revolution summed up by Mao Zedong and his fellow fighters and students. Therefore Mao Zedong Thought is the crystallization of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle. Mao Zedong Thought is one thing and Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking in the twilight of his life is another. There is no contradiction. Great men in history have been known to develop wrong ideas in the latter part of their lives. This is an historical fact. Comrade Mao Zedong is a great Marxist theorist and also a great proletarian revolutionary and strategist. With him as chiefly the leader, our party led the people of all nationalities of the country in making a successful revolution in a big eastern country like ours, in enabling socialist new China to hold its own in the world. What a magnificent contribution this was! As far as historical materialism is concerned, it is realistic to separate Mao Zedong Thought from Comrade Mao's thinking in the twilight of his life. It is not realistic to lump the two together. These facts show that our party Central Committee has not put forward a wrong idea. It is those who are too sure of themselves that have been wrong. Marx once ridiculed those who looked at the surface of things. After learning something superficial, these people were overconfident and thought that they were right. We must teach our comrades to adopt a scientific and analytical attitude and a prudent attitude. They must not just call this right or that wrong as they like. This is a metaphysical approach.

involved here is also a problem of the cult of the individual. We must thoroughly solve it ideologically. To stress building up an individual and not stress publicity for the sake of the party and the people and put personal buildup above publicity about the party and above the party and the people--this is wrong at any time.

This problem has for a long time not been soberly recognized by us. It is not that we cannot realistically point out an individual's correct performance and contributions. This is permissible and at times proper and necessary. For instance, it is not only permissible but also proper and necessary for us to point out both Comrade Mao Zedong's magnificent contributions and the great contributions made by Comrade Zhou Enlai, Comrade Liu Shaoqi and Comrade Zhu De. But we cannot put individual buildup above publicity about the party, the class and the people. When we point out an individual's correct performance and contributions, we must set forth facts and reason things out. We must not just rely on using rhetoric and superlatives in building up a thing, regardless of its content and regardless of logic. Realistically building up an individual's contributions is permissible, but publicity about the party, the class and the people must be placed above publicity about an individual. As far as the history of our party is concerned, where we have first given publicity to the party, to the party's ideas and policies and to the role and strength of the class and the people, while at the same time building up an individual, our cause has proceeded smoothly and shown healthy growth. From the Yanan period to shortly after the founding of the state, we did so. That period witnessed the booming growth of our cause, with no detours. Later we began stressing individuals. After 1958 we made individuals the center of attention. This was carried to the extreme during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Without the party, how could there be an individual? An individual is a member of the party, controlled by the party and restrained by the collective. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," we have again got involved with a period of the cult of the individual. Who is to blame? Many of our comrades are to blame. The one who carries the sedan chair is as much to blame as the one who sits in it. It is permissible to properly point out the contributions the comrades of the party Central Committee had made in smashing the "gang of four." It was not wrong to say so in the past, it is not wrong to say so now. Nor will it be wrong to say so in the future. But making too much of an individual is basically wrong. This cannot be allowed in the future. All that encourages the cult of the individual must be eliminated. After one or two decades of suffering, we have at last awakened. It should be noted that our country is an offshoot of a feudal society and is a vast ocean of small producers. The cult of the individual finds a market in the vast ocean of society of small producers--a society originating from feudal society. In "On the 18th of Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx wrote a very convincing passage. He said: The small peasants of France "cannot protect their own class interests in their own name, whether through the parliament or through the national assembly. They cannot represent themselves and must be represented by others. Their representative must also be their master--an authority towering above them and a government power not subjected to any restrictions. Such a power protects them against being encroached upon by other classes and bestows upon them dew and sunshine." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 693) The position of individual peasants and small producers in China determined that they always pinned their hopes on a great man

and they always regarded the fruits of struggle in which they themselves had participated as dew and sunshine bestowed by someone else. If this idea is not overcome, our party will still suffer in the future. We admit that individuals, especially great people, play an important and even unusually unique role in the development of history. But pinning our hopes for the cause of our party and people on an individual and not on the party, the class and the broad masses of people, as history has shown, is dangerous. We Marxists must have a profound understanding of this experience.

Some comrades in our party put stress on building up individuals because they do not have a high theoretical level and act blindly. However, we must guard against the situation where individuals do so because of impurity in party spirit. Why do some people persist in carrying the sedan? They do so, because they want to occupy the sedan themselves. We must do away with such a practice.

We must maintain a high degree of vigilance and resolutely guard against letting things get out of control. We must see through the appearance to get at the essence. We erred in the past by giving prominence to individuals. Now every one of us must clearly understand this problem and get increasingly sober. Only in this way can we raise our party's Marxist theory to a new level and raise our party's political life to a new level.

We must really attain the aim of upholding the four basic principles. To do so, we must resolutely wage a persistent struggle against the tendency toward negating and opposing the four basic principles in the ideological and political areas. We must continue to criticize and oppose the influence of the various remnants of feudalism. Meanwhile we must criticize and oppose the tendency toward worshipping capitalism and advocating bourgeois liberalization. We must criticize and resist such decadent bourgeois ideas as making the individual's interests paramount, seeking profits as the supreme goal and "money being everything." We must oppose and resist anarchism and outright individualism.

Whether our efforts will succeed and whether in the coming 10 or 20 years we can score achievements that will be praised by our successors and win their historical appraisal of such achievements, this is, to a large extent, determined by how people like us--nearly 20 million cadres--now perform on the Chinese political stage. We now have 38 million party members and also several tens of millions of CYL members. This is a large force and is our state's mainstay and its backbone.

This force is mostly good or relatively good. Of course, it also has its defects and its weaknesses. Our defects and weaknesses are related to the lack of knowledge and the lack of modern scientific knowledge. They also have to do with two other factors: The first is bureaucracy marked by a lackadaisical and haphazard attitude to work and the practice of talking idly about what should not be talked about and failing to do what should be done. The second is the idea of privileged treatment or the style of one enjoying special privileges, marked by the practice of violating party principles and especially abusing power with which one is charged by the party and the state and cultivating friendship to further one's own ends. People have complained the most about privileged

treatment. Of course, some people have also magnified our shortcomings and even attacked our party as a "bureaucratic class." The charge that our party is "a bureaucratic class" is incompatible with the facts. We must refute such a fallacy. It is not enough for us to just make a refutation as this cannot dispel what people think about us. These two defects are vital in some of our cadres. Concerning the vague and incorrect ideas among those people who magnify our defects, we must set forth facts, reason things out and patiently and conscientiously carry out persuasive education. Example is better than precept. More important, we must take practical actions to really rectify our own defects. In a certain sense, we must first overcome our own defects. Only by so doing can we really have the means to outtalk and convince those who magnify our defects. Only the facts are the most convincing.

History has arranged for the birth of the Chinese communists in the land of China. As members of the ruling party and party cadres, we must suffer a little, and only by suffering a little were we able to lead the whole population of China to stand on its own feet. Only those comrades who are not afraid of suffering hardships and dare to face difficulties head on are good examples. If we had not led the people to stand on their own feet and had refrained from being selfless, from being the first to suffer and from putting public interests above private ones, the people would not have supported us and would have said that we were advocates of individualism and incapable of exercising leadership. What is called selflessness? What does being the first to suffer mean? What does putting public interests above one's own mean? This is a demand imposed upon us by the era and by the function of leadership. To meet this demand, we must cherish the spirit of making sacrifices for the party and for the people. Men must have some vigor.

What does this mean? It means that we must have the spirit of willingly making self-sacrifices for the supreme interests of the people. With this spirit, we can study tirelessly and persistently, thus continuously obtaining the necessary knowledge, the necessary experience and the required trained people. With this spirit, we can always make strict demands upon ourselves, thus unifying the greatest mass of comrades in doing work well and winning support from the broadest mass of people. The leading cadres of our party at all levels must first acquire this spirit. This is the most noble quality that our party cadres must cherish. Such a quality is in itself a source of enlightenment to others and a good example.

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COMMENTING ON THE SO-CALLED OPPOSITION TO THE CLASS OF BUREAUCRATS

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[Special commentary by Lin Boye [2651 0130 6851] and Shen Che [3947 6568]]

[Text] A handful of people in society have lately been spreading fallacies which go against the four basic principles. Most noteworthy of these is the fallacy that a so-called class of bureaucrats has appeared within the CCP. These people even claim that this "class of bureaucrats" is the natural product of the socialist economic and political system, saying that this class and the contradictions among the people together constitute the principal contradictions in the present Chinese society and that China's problems cannot be solved unless this class is removed. This is an antiparty and antisocialist political campaign aimed at wresting leadership from our party and replacing it. We must clearly state our viewpoint.

Indeed, bureaucratism still exists in China, and it is quite serious at some times and in some places. It not only affects the relationship between party and state functionaries and the masses of the people but also greatly impedes the development of the four modernizations and work in all fields. We must resolutely oppose bureaucratism and must not, in the slightest degree, overlook its harmfulness. Bureaucratism, however, is not a natural product of the socialist economic and political system, and our views on whether a so-called class of bureaucrats has appeared within the CCP and about what principles and policies should be adopted to oppose bureaucratism are distinctly different from those entertained by this handful of people.

1. Socialism Is the Only Way To Vanquish and Ultimately Eliminate Bureaucratism

Bureaucratism is an age-old social phenomenon. It came into being with the birth of private ownership, classes and the state and will disappear with the withering away of these things. In other words, bureaucratism is the natural product of the exploiting class and the exploiting system. Although bureaucratism exists even in a socialist society, it is essentially different from bureaucratism of the old society despite the fact that they have many features in common.

To begin with, the establishment of the socialist economic and political system lays the essential economic and political foundations for resisting and

vanquishing bureaucratism, whereas the existence of various systems in the old society provided the soil for the breeding and survival of bureaucratism. Since the emergence of classes in human society the exploiting class has occupied a dominant position. In order to protect its own interests and suppress the resistance of the ruled it had to establish a complete set of bureaucratic ruling organs and form a massive privileged bureaucratic stratum. Bureaucratism, which emerged and developed under this kind of historical condition, is inseparably linked with the system of exploitation and the exploiting class. Socialism, however, is aimed at the abolition of the system of exploitation and suppression of man by man as well as the complete eradication of the soil and conditions for the breeding and survival of bureaucratism. Socialism has replaced private ownership with public ownership, destroyed the economic foundation on which the exploiting class relies to exploit the broad masses of working people and laid the foundation for true equality among all men. Following the establishment of the socialist public ownership system, the means of production came under the ownership of the whole people, or collective bodies of the working people. This gave the broad masses of working people the greatest opportunities to take part in economic management and supervision and created the most favorable conditions for resisting and vanquishing bureaucratism.

Following the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship (that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat), the old state apparatus was smashed and the reactionary bureaucratic ruling strata were overthrown, thus ending millennia of irrational political practice of rule by a handful and destroying the political basis of bureaucratism. The masses of the people thus became the masters of the country and had the right to take part in the management of state affairs. This provided the masses of the people with the most favorable political conditions for waging a struggle against bureaucratism. As Lenin pointed out: "We can fight bureaucratism to the bitter end, to a complete victory, only when the whole population participates in the work of government. In the bourgeois republics not only is this impossible, but the law itself prevents it. The best of the bourgeois republics, no matter how democratic they may be, have thousands of legal hindrances which prevent the working people from participating in the work of government." "On the matter of enlisting the workers and peasants, our socialist state has done more than has been done or could be done by the best of the democratic republics." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, pp 156, 157) This shows that we can most effectively resist and fight bureaucratism only in a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

From the legal and moral points of view, the existence of bureaucratic prerogatives cannot be tolerated in a socialist society. In the old society, however, the special privileges and interests of the bureaucratic ruling strata were protected by law and supported by old moral concepts. The slaveowners had their slaves completely in their power. The landlord class carried out extraeconomic exploitation and merciless oppression against the peasants. Bureaucrats who represented them rode roughshod over the people and bullied and humiliated the people at will. The slaves and peasants simply did not enjoy any democracy, freedom or equality, and this practice was completely legal in the old society. Although the bourgeois law talks about freedom and equality and people's rights it only gives the bourgeoisie the freedom to exploit the workers. The working

class does not enjoy any freedom politically or any equality culturally. In the bourgeois society, the so-called freedom, equality and fraternity are merely idle remarks. In the final analysis, the bourgeois law is aimed at safeguarding the capitalist system and the bourgeois rule, that is, the foundation for the survival of bureaucracy. After seizing political power, the proletariat stipulated in its law that the people are entitled to extensive democratic rights in the political, economic and cultural fields and formed the moral concept of despising bureaucracy and privileges. Thus bureaucracy became something illegal like "rats scurrying across the street and being chased by all passersby." This spirit is embodied in the constitution, laws and decrees of our country. Of course, we still have to grope for ways of perfecting our laws and decrees and still have to wage a protracted and arduous struggle under the leadership of the party in order to firmly implement these laws and decrees.

Furthermore, bureaucracy in the old society was beyond cure, whereas the bureaucracy of a socialist society is not an incurable disease. In the old society the contradictions between the exploiting class and the masses of the working people were irreconcilable. Bureaucracy, as a work style featuring the suppression of the people by the exploiting class, was also something which could not be overcome. Moreover as class contradictions and class struggles became more acute and the ruling class degenerated with each passing day, bureaucracy would invariably be aggravated until it could no longer contain itself. On the contrary, although bureaucracy also exists in a socialist society, it is not the product of the socialist system itself. Rather it is caused by the evil legacies of the old society and the imperfections in some of our specific systems. For example, feudal, bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas are still exerting their influence, the level of our social productive forces and cultural standard is low, some parts of our production relations and superstructure are not suitable for the development of the productive forces, some of our rules and regulations are not rational and perfect enough, and some opportunists and bad and degenerate elements have wormed their way into the party to carry out sabotage, and so on.

A case in point is the sabotage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. These are the soil for breeding bureaucracy. On the other hand, positive factors for overcoming bureaucracy also exist and grow in a socialist society. For example, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the CCP has all along taken a firm approach in opposing bureaucracy and has developed the glorious tradition of maintaining close ties with the masses in the course of protracted struggle. The establishment of the socialist economic and political systems and the enormous achievements we have made in the political, economic, cultural and other fields have laid the foundation for opposing bureaucracy. The broad masses have an abhorrence of bureaucracy and privileges and strongly demand actions to overcome bureaucracy. These positive and negative factors have been locked in a fierce struggle throughout the historical period of socialism, with one rising as the other falls. Judging from the general course of development, however, positive factors have always played a leading role. Under the leadership of the CCP, as long as we uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, adhere to the socialist orientation, persist in the people's democratic dictatorship (that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat) and adopt correct

principles and policies to foster and carry forward the positive factors, it will not be difficult to gradually eliminate the soil and conditions left by the old society for breeding bureaucratism. With the gradual perfection of the socialist system and the advent of communism, we will eventually be able to completely wipe out bureaucratism.

Socialism is essentially incompatible with bureaucratism. It opens broad vistas for opposing bureaucratism and is the only way to vanquish and ultimately eliminate bureaucratism. It is groundless to say that bureaucratism has its roots in the socialist economic and political systems.

2. The CCP Is the Force at the Core Leading the Chinese People in the Struggle To Oppose Bureaucratism

As things stand in China, there is no such thing as a "class of bureaucrats" within our party. There could never be any, for the following reasons:

First, the expression "class of bureaucrats" is itself unscientific. In the history of man, there has never been nor could there ever be any "class of bureaucrats" existing independently outside other classes. Whether in the slave society, feudal society or capitalist society, the bureaucratic ruling strata in the state regime always formed a portion of the exploiting class which held the ruling position at the time. The cadres in our socialist state, including those who basically serve the people but are infected with bureaucratic work style to some degree, all form a portion of the worker and peasant classes. The degeneracy of a very small number of cadres is due to the influence of exploiting-class ideology. In the examples cited above, the bureaucratic ruling strata of the past and the cadre force of today all belong to their respective classes and could not form a separate class. In particular, in the social conditions of China today, bureaucratism is mainly a problem of ideological style. If cadres infected with bureaucratic habits are demarcated into a separate class, that is a violation of the Marxist definition of class and standards for class demarcation. Lenin also clearly explained the definition of class and the standards for class demarcation. He said: "Classes are groups of people, one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a specific social economic struggle." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 10) He also said: "The fundamental criterion by which classes are distinguished is the place they occupy in social production and, consequently, the relation in which they stand to the means of production." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 6, p 233) It can thus be seen that classes are demarcated according to the relations in which they stand to production and the system of ownership, not to politics and ideology. If we take politics and ideology as the standards for class demarcation, we would create great confusion, conceal the essence of classes and blur the distinction between classes.

Western bourgeois sociologists take income, profession, cultural standards and ideology as the standards for class demarcation. We must on no account betray the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and follow in their footsteps.

Second, the view that classes will emerge within a political party fundamentally runs counter to the laws of the historical development of society and Marxist-Leninist teaching on the relations between classes and political parties. In the history of man, classes have always given birth to political parties and never the other way around. Political parties have always been part of a class. We cannot turn things upside down and say that classes are part of a political party. If a ruling workers' party does not pay attention to strengthening itself and is incapable of overcoming the corrosion of the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, it will possibly degenerate. However, even if it does degenerate, it cannot give birth to a class within itself. Moreover the landlords and rich peasants have ceased to exist as a class and the capitalist class has disappeared in our country. Under this situation, it is absurd to say that a so-called class of bureaucrats has appeared within the CCP.

Third, viewed from the history of the CCP, our revolutionary practices over the past five decades and more only prove that the CCP is the staunchest and bravest proletarian vanguard in waging struggles against bureaucratism. The new democratic revolution led by our party is a great revolution to smash the bureaucratic state apparatus of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and to thoroughly eradicate the economic foundation that produces this bureaucratic state apparatus. The fulfillment of this arduous task requires that our party must resolutely trust and rely on the masses and maintain close ties with them. For this reason our party has always attached importance to sweeping away the political dust which contaminated our party. During the second revolutionary civil war, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Bureaucratic leadership cannot be tolerated in economic construction any more than in any other branch of our revolutionary work. The ugly evil of bureaucratism, which no comrade likes, must be thrown into the cesspool." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 110) The organs of political power in various revolutionary bases led by our party during the period of democratic revolution were recognized by progressive personages at home and abroad for their closely knit structures, their down-to-earth work style, their close ties with the masses and their efficiency in work. In the course of protracted struggle, our party developed the fine work style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and making criticism and self-criticism. These three major work styles are fundamentally opposed to bureaucratic ways.

Since the founding of the PRC, our party has become the ruling party. Our status as the ruling party and the bourgeoisie's flattery and attacks with sugar-coated bullets greatly increased the danger of the breeding of bureaucratism. The crux of the problem lies not in whether this danger exists but in whether our party can formulate a correct line and correct principles and policies in accordance with the science of Marxism and our understanding of the objective laws governing the development of society to overcome this danger. History proves that our party has this capability. At the 2d Plenary Session of the 7th CCP Central Committee convened on the eve of our seizure of political power, Comrade Mao Zedong warned that we must remain modest and prudent and preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle. Not long after the founding of the PRC, we waged a movement against the three evils, including bureaucratism. This movement basically checked the phenomenon in which great numbers of leading cadres had

estranged themselves from the masses and prevented many party and state cadres from degenerating. Our party was able to lead the people to win a great historic victory in socialist revolution and socialist construction only because it had preserved and carried forward the Marxist-Leninist styles of leadership and work. If our party had really degenerated to become a class of "bureaucrats" after rising to the ruling position as some people said, how could it have made such great achievements?!

During the 10 turbulent years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques took advantage of our party's mistakes to carry out counterrevolutionary sabotage in a big way. As a result, millions and millions of party and state cadres were mercilessly tormented and unsavory practices such as bureaucratism, sectarianism, commandism and seeking privileges developed in a malignant way. However, even mistakes and disasters of such magnitude had not completely changed the nature of our party. Supported by the people of the whole country our party smashed the "gang of four" at one stroke, ushered in a new period of socialist modernization and did a great deal of work to set things right. Because of this our party and state was able to embark on a new Long March along the correct road. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Our party has made serious mistakes. Such mistakes must be rectified by our party itself and not by any other force." ("The Current Situation and Tasks," p 37) Looking at our party's history over the past 60 years, we can say that the CCP is a long-tested and well-tempered proletarian revolutionary party, and only a party like this can be called the mainstay of the people of various nationalities in our country.

Fourth, as seen from the present condition of the CCP, we can say that the overwhelming majority of our party's cadres are good or relatively good. They all love the people, go deep into realities, willingly bear the burden of office and work very hard. Many of these cadres have devoted their lives to work for the people's interests. With their own lofty qualities and fine work style many of our party's proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, especially Comrade Zhou Enlai, nurtured millions and millions of party members and cadres and impelled them to make unceasing progress. Of course there are people who are seriously infected with the bureaucratic work style, but they only make up a small number. Those who practice favoritism, take bribes and bend the law make up an even smaller number among the cadres. The essence and principal aspect of our party's ranks of cadres are good. In the final analysis, this is a reflection of our party's proletarian essence and the result of our party's protracted and resolute struggle against bureaucratism and other unsavory practices. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee has restored and established the correct political, ideological and organizational lines, restored and carried forward the party's fine work style and taken a series of effective measures to correct unsavory practices within the party. The "Guiding Principles on Inner-Party Political Life" formulated by our party clearly stipulate that party members must "seriously criticize and fight against such erroneous tendencies as factionalism, anarchism, extreme individualism, bureaucratism and privilege-seeking. Under the leadership of our party socialist democracy is developing in a sound way and the socialist legal system is gradually

being improved. This is an important guarantee for overcoming bureaucracy. Under the leadership of our party we are taking steps to reform certain irrational rules and regulations in our state management system in order to raise working efficiency and block the way to bureaucracy. Under the leadership of our party we are eliminating the influence of feudal, bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies and deeply ferreting out the ideological roots of bureaucracy. Under the leadership of our party we are energetically developing production and scientific and cultural undertakings and creating conditions for the complete and ultimate elimination of bureaucracy, and so on. All this shows that our party Central Committee, the majority of our party's leading organs at various levels and the majority of party members firmly stand on the side of the proletariat and the masses of the people in waging a resolute struggle against bureaucracy, seeking privileges and other unsavory practices. Bureaucracy and seeking privileges are illegal both in our party and in our state organs. They are objects to be criticized and overcome. In the "Bohai No 2" incident, certain cadres who were seriously infected with bureaucracy were dismissed or even sentenced. This is a convincing proof. This incident also shows that although evil weeds of bureaucracy will continue to crop up from time to time, the broad masses of the people are hoeing them up like peasants who are eager to protect the growth of their crops. In short, under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee and as a result of the unremitting struggle waged by all party members and the people throughout the country against bureaucracy, unsavory practices within the party have been corrected and the general mood of society has changed for the better to some extent. As the struggle deepens, bureaucracy will gradually decline rather than proliferate. This is the basic condition and future prospect of our party. If we fail to see this condition and, instead, take the phenomenon as the essence, the part as the whole and the secondary aspect as the principal one, we will paint a dark picture of the situation, waver in our conviction in upholding the four basic principles, lose our bearings and go astray.

In conclusion, we can say with certainty that the CCP is the force at the core leading the Chinese people to carry out the four modernizations and wage the struggle against bureaucracy. In China there is no such thing as a "class of bureaucrats." There could never be any. It is sheer demagogic fabrication to call the contradiction between the so-called class of bureaucrats and the broad masses of the people the principal contradiction in Chinese society.

Some people claim that the idea of a so-called class of bureaucrats is the product of their own independent thinking. Actually this idea is nothing new and is certainly not their new invention. Internally such an argument is no more than a refurbished version of the formula equating veteran cadres with democrats fabricated by the "gang of four" by making use of our party's mistakes. Internationally some imperialists, reactionaries and new and old opportunist elements have been attacking us like this all along for the past few decades. Those who pick up phrases from somebody and pass them off as their own and deck themselves out as heroes who have discovered "the new continent" are certainly not naive but are purposely being deceitful. With the exception of those who crave nothing short of nationwide chaos, most people who share this view merely have trouble with their understanding. Once they find out about the truth and understand the basic facts, they will quickly wake up to their errors.

3. We Must Understand the Essence of the Problem, Adopt a Correct Method and Wage a Protracted Struggle

Although there is not and there also cannot be a "class of bureaucrats" in our party, we should admit that the bureaucratic style has become a serious problem, one of the party members and state cadres. For example, some party members sit on a pedestal, lose contact with reality and the masses, and show no concern for the sufferings of the people. Some have become ossified in their thinking, stick to conventions, remain ignorant and incompetent and refuse to shoulder responsibility. Some of the units and departments have become cumbersome and overstaffed. There are too many documents and too much red tape, responsibility is shifted to others, work is dilatory and no attention is paid to efficiency. Some abuse their power, behave in an imperious and despotic manner and even practice favoritism. The existence of such bureaucratic manifestations has weakened the ties between the party and the masses and suppressed the people's enthusiasm. To smoothly carry out socialist modernization we must resolutely combat bureaucracy. However, in order to effectively carry out the struggle against bureaucracy, we must understand the essence of the problem and adopt a correct method before we can succeed. Experience has proven that the erroneous method of using the "Great Cultural Revolution" not only cannot eliminate bureaucracy, but will also lead instead to the spread of bureaucracy. However, a handful of people who desire to see the world plunged into chaos have instigated carrying out a second "Great Cultural Revolution" and waging a struggle "against bureaucrats and privileges." Are these people really desirous of eliminating bureaucracy?

They are only trying to destroy the political situation of stability and unity, plunge the country into chaos and seize power for themselves in the confusion. Apart from them there are also some well-meaning comrades who have put forth the slogan of "cutting off this ulcer of bureaucracy." For the sake of enabling these comrades to clearly understand the incorrectness of this advocacy, it is useful for us to study over again a letter written by Lenin to N. F. Sokolov. Lenin said: "Although I have not been to all the localities, I know this bureaucracy and all the harm it does. Your mistake is to think that it can be destroyed all at once, like an ulcer, that it can be 'wiped off the face of the earth.'"

"This is a mistake. You can throw out the czar, throw out the landowners, throw out the capitalists. We have done this. But you cannot 'throw out' bureaucracy in a peasant country, you cannot 'wipe it off the face of the earth.' You can only reduce it by slow and stubborn efforts."

"To 'throw off' the 'bureaucratic ulcer,' as you put it in another place, is wrong in its very formulation. It means you do not understand the question. To 'throw off' an ulcer of this kind is impossible. It can only be healed. Surgery in this case is an absurdity, an impossibility; only a slow cure--all the rest is charlatanism or naivete." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 490)

Why is it that bureaucracy cannot be removed by surgical means but can only be slowly cured? This is mainly because our contradiction with the overwhelming

majority of the people who are infected with the bureaucratic work style is an internal contradiction among the people. Regarding those people whose ideological line is not quite correct, who do not pay attention to investigation and study and do not proceed from reality, we must strengthen these comrades' education on the Marxist theory of knowledge. Regarding those whose class viewpoint is not strong and who show no concern for mass interests or do not consult the masses on matters, we must strengthen their education on the mass viewpoint and mass line. Regarding comrades whose work methods are unscientific and who are always bustling about without grasping the essentials, we must educate them with the method of scientific thinking and the method of work. As for those comrades who seek personal ease and comfort and special advantages, we must educate them with communist moral character, strengthen the system and reinforce party and mass supervision. Here we must point out in passing that the privileges we oppose are the phenomenon of violating reasonable rules and regulations and taking advantage of one's position to fish for personal gains. Some people have said that the phenomenon of the slightly better standard of living enjoyed by some people as a result of the implementation of the socialist policy of distribution according to work also constitutes a special privilege. This is incorrect. We definitely cannot use the petty bourgeois viewpoint of egalitarianism to equate old cadres with privileges. In short, a great quantity of bureaucratic style can only be solved by the method of democracy, the method of convincing and educating and the method of criticism and self-criticism. If we regard people who have made bureaucratic mistakes as enemies and overthrow them all without exception, we will be confusing the two different aspects of the contradiction and repeating the mistake of enlarging the class struggle. In combating bureaucratism, "one must know how far one can go. To carry the struggle against bureaucratism in the state apparatus as far as to destroy the state apparatus, as far as to sweep away the prestige of the state apparatus, as far as to attempt to supersede it, amounts to going against Leninism and amounts to forgetting that our state apparatus is the Soviet apparatus, which is the highest exponent of state apparatus in the world today." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 10, p 273) These words spoken by Stalin are still applicable to us today. They were spoken in connection with the great number of people contaminated by bureaucratic ideas and work style. Regarding those people who have abused their power and violated law and discipline, we must severely punish them according to state law and party discipline. As for those whose individual character is particularly bad and whose serious degeneration has become a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy among the people, we must purge them from the party organization and state apparatus and deal with them according to law. Therefore we absolutely cannot use dismissal and punishment by law as the universal guiding principle for combating bureaucratism.

The reason we cannot use surgical means to remove bureaucratism is because bureaucratism is a longstanding historical phenomenon in society. To eradicate this phenomenon will require a long historical process. It will require the sustained and unrelenting struggle of countless generations. For example, in order to develop the productive forces and transform certain links in the relations of production and the superstructure not in keeping with the development of the productive forces; to raise the scientific and cultural level of the people; to eliminate the influence of feudal ideas, bourgeois ideas and petty

bourgeois ideas, we must all make protracted efforts. Some bureaucratic phenomena are produced as a result of imperfections in certain economic and political rules and regulations. If we do not carry out certain specific reforms in the system but simply use the method of punishing and removing cadres, we will be unable to basically solve this problem. If we do not transform the cumbersome apparatus and the condition of redundancy, although we may change one batch of cadres after another, we still will not be able to improve work efficiency. Moreover such problems cannot be solved by giving an order or in a short time. Just as Lenin said: "We shall be fighting the evils of bureaucracy for many years to come, and whoever thinks otherwise is playing the demagogue and cheating, because overcoming the evils of bureaucracy requires hundreds of measures, wholesale literacy, culture and participation in the activity of the workers' and peasants' inspection." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 52) He also said: "'The economic foundation for the withering away of the state' ('The State and Revolution')": In this case we also have the 'economic foundation' for the withering away of such phenomena as bureaucracy, people of the higher and lower ranks and inequality." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 315) To create the economic foundation for the withering away of bureaucracy is also a long process. Therefore we must realistically carry out the four modernizations and build China into a strong socialist country with a high degree of material civilization and spiritual civilization. This is the most fundamental step for getting rid of bureaucracy and eventually exterminating bureaucracy in China.

In short, the basic economic system and political system of the proletariat are the only road to getting rid of bureaucracy and eventually exterminating bureaucracy. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is our ideological guideline in the struggle against bureaucracy. The mighty Chinese Communist Party is the force at the core leading our people in the struggle against bureaucracy. Only by adhering to the socialist road, upholding the dictatorship of people's democracy (or the dictatorship of the proletariat) and upholding and improving party leadership can we effectively carry out the struggle against bureaucracy and eventually exterminate this historical phenomenon. All words and actions which use opposing bureaucracy as an excuse for departing from the four basic principles are wrong. Those people whose desire is to plunge the country into chaos by writing antiparty and antisocialist articles on the subject of opposing bureaucracy are only practicing deception and sedition. Our comrades must heighten their vigilance and must definitely not lower their guard and be careless and let them get away with it.

CSO: 4004

STUDYING ZHOU ENLAI'S 'ON THE ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PERIOD'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 81 pp 19-23

[Article by Xu Dixin (6079 3321 2450)]

[Text] In June 1948, the great Comrade Zhou Enlai wrote the outline of "On the Economic Construction of the New Democratic Period." One year after the completion of this brilliant outline, the PLA overthrew the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary regime throughout the whole nation (except for Taiwan). Thus, the economic construction of the new democratic period was carried out rapidly and vigorously.

China's economic construction in the new democratic period started in the revolutionary bases as early as before liberation. From 1949 to 1956, China's national economy was still the economy of the new democratic period although the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce had been basically completed. In the outline written by Comrade Zhou Enlai on the eve of liberation, he put forth his opinions on the essential character, basic contents, developmental trend and principle of economic construction of the new democratic period. Later, these opinions became the guide in practice.

I

What was the nature of the economy of the new democratic period? Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out clearly that the principle governing the economic construction of the new democratic period was opposite to that of the old democratic period and the capitalist period. That is to say, the economy of the new democratic period was not the same as the capitalist economy but was its opposite.

Lenin told us: Politics is a concentrated expression of economics. From the leadership of the national economy, we can see the basic difference between the nature of the economy of the new democratic period and that of the capitalist period. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out that the economy of the new democratic period was an economy led by the proletariat, not by the bourgeoisie. In answering the question of "whether we should take the laboring masses as the mainstay with the free bourgeoisie as its affiliate, or take the bourgeoisie as the mainstay with the laboring masses as its affiliate," Lenin affirmed the former and negated the latter. Comrade Zhou Enlai's idea on this issue included two contents: The first was the leadership by the proletariat. In 1949, the CPPCC

adopted a common program which stipulated that China was a people's democratic state led by the working class, based on the alliance of workers and peasants and united with all democratic classes and all nationalities in the country. The first constitution of the PRC also stipulated that our country was "a democratic state of the people led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." All these stipulations specifically reflected Comrade Zhou Enlai's thinking on the leadership of the proletariat. The second content was the party's ideology of the united front. As Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out in his explanations on the constitution: "This signifies the important role to be played in the transition period by the people's democratic united front led by the working class and composed of the various democratic classes, democratic parties and groups and people's organizations. This united front means an alliance between the working people and all nonworking people with whom cooperation is possible." As the national bourgeoisie have dual characters during the periods of both the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, the united front of the working class with the national bourgeoisie has become a supplement of the worker-peasant alliance. This is what Comrade Zhou Enlai meant when he said "taking the laboring masses as the mainstay with the bourgeoisie as its affiliate."

As the new democratic regime was led by the working class, the economy of the new democratic period was invariably ruled by it. In a capitalist country, the political power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, and the lifeblood of the national economy is monopolized by the bourgeoisie. Thus, the broad masses of working people do not have any rights at all. Comrade Zhou Enlai's outline taught us: We must try to understand the difference between the nature of the economy of the new democratic period and that of the capitalist period.

II

What were the contents of the economy of the new democratic period?

In the above-mentioned outline, Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out that "there are three sectors of the economy: the public sector of the economy, the private sector of the economy and the cooperative sector of the economy." Of these three sectors, the public sector is the most important. Before liberation, the public sector of the economy existed in all revolutionary bases. However, at that time, the public sector of the economy was not on a national scale, nor was it the lifeblood of the national economy. After the liberation of the whole country (except for Taiwan), we confiscated the four big families' state monopoly capital. Subsequently, the public sector of the economy began to develop on a national scale and it gradually became the lifeblood of the national economy. The public sector of the economy thus became a socialist state economy owned by the whole people. Facts have proved that the more developed the state economy is, the stronger will be its leadership over the whole national economy.

The cooperative sector of the economy existed in various bases before liberation. However, it was primarily in the form of small-scale supply and marketing cooperatives and handicrafts cooperatives. After liberation, supply and marketing cooperatives were further organized in various cities. They served as

supplements of the state economy. With the basic completion of the land reform, peasants who had acquired land were gradually developed from individual households into mutual aid groups. Later, they even organized agricultural production cooperatives. Cooperatives were a form of socialist or semisocialist collective economy. They coexisted with the state economy owned by the whole people for quite a long period of time.

The private sector of the economy includes the individual economy (individual handicraftsmen, small merchants and hawkers) and capitalist industry and commerce (including old-style Chinese private banks). In this outline, Comrade Zhou Enlai clearly pointed out that the state banks must carry out financial struggles against old-style Chinese private banks (as well as other private banks) because at that time, most private banks were engaged in hoarding and speculation. We had to adopt the principle of treating capitalist industry and commerce in different ways and decide "which of them should be advocated and protected, which should be opposed and banned and which, though harmful, cannot be banned right away but should be tolerated and restricted for the time being." It was obvious that businesses that were beneficial to the national economy and the people's livelihood, to the development of production and to the exchange between cities and the rural areas were to be advocated and protected. Hoarding and speculation, activities of driving up commodity prices and activities detrimental to the people's livelihood and the country's construction were to be banned and cracked down on by the state. Capitalist production, which exploited workers and sought profits, could not have been abolished at that time, but proper and flexible restrictions were imposed by the state on the scope of these activities, on taxation, on market prices and on working conditions. This was done in accordance with the actual conditions of various localities, trades and periods.

The public, the private and the cooperative sectors of economies existed side by side, with the public sector of the economy as the principal form. This was the basic content of the economy of the new democratic period. It showed that the economy of the new democratic period was basically not a capitalist economy. Although capitalist industry and commerce were part of the national economy, they were not the key part of the national economy. Moreover, many aspects of their activities were restricted by the state. Thus, it would have been wrong to mix the economy of the new democratic period with that of the capitalist period. At the same time, it should be noted that the economy of the new democratic period was not a socialist economy. This was because although the socialist state economy played the leading role in the national economy, the individual economy and capitalist economy still existed. The economy of the new democratic period was an economy during the transition period toward socialism. It was beneficial to the development of social productivity during this period.

III

What policies were we to adopt in carrying out the economic construction of the new democratic period?

Comrade Zhou Enlai clearly pointed out that the principle of the economic construction of the new democratic period was opposed to the principle of agricultural socialism or extreme egalitarianism. Agricultural socialism or extreme egalitarianism was an illusion of owners of small-scale farms and handicraftsmen. This illusion was entirely opposed to Marxism. During the agrarian revolutionary war, the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, most of our revolutionary bases were established in rural areas. The principle of egalitarianism of handicrafts and small-scale peasant farming was strongly reflected in some of our cadres' thinking. This principle not only obstructed the development of production and economic prosperity in the revolutionary bases, but also endangered the army's unity and combat effectiveness.

In "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We should point out that, before the abolition of capitalism, absolute egalitarianism is a mere illusion of peasants and small proprietors, and that even under socialism there can be no absolute equality, for material things will then be distributed on the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work' as well as on that of meeting the needs of the work." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 89) If, in socialist enterprises, workers get equal wages no matter whether they work or not, no matter how they do their work and no matter how much work they do, practice has proved that this is an extremely harmful practice. This practice is only beneficial to lazy people and those who reap without sowing. It severely hinders the development of production and economic prosperity. Since it dampens the work enthusiasm of the broad masses of people and lowers work productivity, it is detrimental to the development of industrial and agricultural production. Distribution according to the principle of egalitarianism denies the differences between individual workers in their output and the quality of their work. It rewards everyone equally. This principle of distribution is apparently a principle of equality. However, in practice, this principle brings inequality to the masses because it does not use work as the yardstick for determining remunerations. In the principle of distribution according to work, the use of work as the yardstick for determining remunerations is a fundamental indication of equality.

Comrade Zhou Enlai's serious proposal 32 years ago that absolute egalitarianism should be opposed is still of great significance. After liberation, the principle of egalitarianism of small-scale peasant economy repeatedly disrupted our policy. During the 10 years of catastrophe, this principle became a lethal weapon used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to ruin the socialist national economy. Even after the smashing of the "gang of four," the specter of egalitarianism still exists in some departments and enterprises of our country and is still an obstacle to realizing the socialist principle of distribution according to labor. Thus, the fact that Comrade Zhou Enlai opposed the economic principle of agricultural socialism or absolute egalitarianism is still of great significance at present.

While opposing absolute egalitarianism, Comrade Zhou Enlai suggested that the supply system be changed to a wage system. The supply system was applicable to revolutionary bases in the rural areas, where the commodity economy was not highly developed, during the war years. However, this way of distribution

could not have been practiced in cities because the supply system would have increased the state's financial burden. After liberation, the supply system was replaced by the wage system. The results of practice fully demonstrated that the wage system was a better form of distribution according to work and that it played an important role in promoting China's national economy.

How should we implement the socialist principle of distribution according to work? This is an important problem in realizing socialist modernization. In his outline, Comrade Zhou Enlai was strongly opposed to agricultural socialism and absolute egalitarianism. This reminds us that we should do a good job in solving the above-mentioned problem.

IV

When carrying out construction during the new democratic period, we had to deal with planned economy, liberalist economy and the relationship between these two economies. In the outline, Comrade Zhou Enlai raised the question of "should we basically depend on a planned economy or completely depend on a free economy." It was obvious that we should depend on planned economy rather than the latter.

In the society of the new democratic period, planned economy was based on socialist state economy. After we had confiscated the state monopoly capital of the four big families, our state, led by the proletariat, was able to master the lifeblood of the national economy. On this basis, our state was able to lay down a plan to develop the national economy in accordance with the objective needs. After 3 years of hard work, we stabilized market prices and resumed industrial and agricultural production and exchanges between cities and villages. In 1953, we began to carry out the first 5-year plan in order to develop the national economy. At that time, individual agriculture, individual handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce still existed. Of course, there were conflicts, to varying degrees, within the state plan. However, on the whole, the first 5-year plan was conducted smoothly because the national economy at that time was basically a planned economy rather than a capitalist free economy. Let us take a look at the contributions of various economies to the national income. From 1952 to 1955, the state economy's contribution increased from 19 percent to 28 percent. During the same period, the contribution of planned economy including joint state-private enterprises, rose from 19.8 percent to 30.8 percent. This showed that Comrade Zhou Enlai was correct when he suggested before the liberation that we should take planned economy as the principal form of economy in the economic construction of the new democratic period.

During the 7 years from the early postliberation period when our national economy began to recover to 1956 when our socialist transformation was basically accomplished, the leading factor of our national economy was not the free economy--the capitalist economy and individual economy. On the contrary, the free economy was gradually and indirectly brought into line with the state plan as the socialist transformation was gradually effected. For example, since capitalist industrial enterprises processed materials for or supplied manufactured goods to state commercial enterprises, they were indirectly brought into

line with the state plan and developed into state capitalism on a medium scale. This also showed that Comrade Zhou Enlai was farsighted when he suggested, before liberation, that planned economy was the principal form of economy in the new democratic period.

Both the individual economy and capitalist economy need markets to exchange their goods. The state economy and joint state-private economy also need markets to exchange their goods. Thus, from 1949 to 1956, planned economy and market economy coexisted. Practice during these years not only proved that planned economy could coexist with market economy, but also proved that the development of planned economy would not be hindered or stopped by the existence of market economy.

In the economy of the new democratic period, competition occurred not only among capitalist industrial and commercial sectors, between the individual economy and capitalist economy, but also between the state economy and the capitalist economy. In industry, competition occurred in the purchase of raw materials and the marketing of products. Competitors not only had to expand the circulation channels, but also had to seriously improve the quality of products. In commerce, there was competition in getting supplies of cheap and good quality products. Such competition was beneficial to resuming and developing the national economy during that period and to satisfying the needs of the people and society.

As everyone knows, both the production of the individual economy and capitalist economy are conducted in an anarchist way. This is particularly true for capitalist economy, which is often closely linked with fraud, deception, speculation and activities to drive up prices. Therefore, on the eve of liberation, the party and state decided to adopt some policies to restrict private capitalism. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, these restricting policies "are bound to meet with resistance in varying degrees and forms.... Restriction versus opposition to restriction will be the main form of class struggle in the new democratic stage." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1370) Of course, we must not restrict private capitalism too much or too rigidly, but "must leave room for it to exist and develop within the framework of the economic policy and planning of the PRC." (Ibid.)

V

The new democratic society marked a transitional stage to the socialist society. As it was transitional in nature, it could have existed indefinitely. In his report on the draft constitution at the First NPC in 1954, Comrade Liu Shaoqi criticized talk about "consolidating the new democratic order." He said: "This kind of talk reflects the idea of maintaining the status quo. But is there any possibility of doing this? It is impossible for two conflicting relationships of production under socialism and capitalism to develop side by side in a country without interfering with each other. China will change either into a socialist state or a capitalist state; to keep China from changing means to halt all movement--and this is absolutely impossible." He also said: "Therefore, the road to socialism is the only bright road for China to take. Moreover, it has to take this road, because this is the law of China's historical development."

In 1956, following the development of the national economy, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was basically completed, the new democratic order was terminated and the transition was basically accomplished. This tallied with the law of historical development of our country and won fervent support from the broad masses of the people.

In 1953, when talking about the general line on the three transformations during the transition period, Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out that this transition should be carried out step by step. He said: "When we say 'step by step,' we mean that the steps are to be spread out over 15 years and over the 12 months in each year. Going too fast means erring to the 'left'; standing still means erring too much to the right." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 82) In 1953, if we had adhered to the original plan in carrying out the transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce in 15 years' time, we would not have completed it before 1968. However, we completed this important historical task 11 years early. Looking back over what we did, we will understand that we went too fast. It is difficult to say that as soon as the general line of the transition period was announced, private capitalism would no longer play any positive role and that enterprises in all trades should be changed into joint state-private enterprises (in fact, state-owned enterprises). Under the people's democratic dictatorship, under the leadership of the socialist economy and under the workers' strict supervision, it is good to keep some medium-scale state capitalism which will continue to be used by us, to satisfy the people's daily increasing needs and to promote the national economy. After joint state-private ownership was effected in various trades, many localities drastically merged and changed some enterprises. As a result, the various favorite products sought by consumers were replaced by "less of a variety of popular goods." From the viewpoint of consumers' needs (who are also the producers as well), this practice deserves our consideration.

In agriculture, it also took less than 5 years for mutual aid groups to develop into elementary agricultural production cooperatives and into advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives. This was also probably too fast. Two years later, on the basis of advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives, we organized the rural people's commune, which integrated government administration and economic management. This was also too fast. Practice has proved that going too fast did not conform to the level of the development of China's rural productivity at that time. Nor did it conform to the level of socialist consciousness of the broad masses of peasants.

At present, the production responsibility systems have emerged in rural areas and some individual or cooperative enterprises have emerged in cities. Some people regard these as a retrogression in socialist production relations. However, I think this view is untenable. Facts have clearly shown that the emergence of various forms of responsibility system in the rural areas is not a rejection of the collectivization of agriculture (particularly of land). It is an improvement in production management. The individual or cooperative enterprises which have emerged in cities are scattered and their turnovers account for only a small proportion. They cannot threaten the existence and development of the state economy, but are only a supplement to the state

economy. The socialist state economy and collective economy are still the mainstay of China's national economy. How can there be a question of retrogression?

When Comrade Zhou Enlai wrote the outline "On the Economic Construction of the New Democratic Period" more than 30 years ago, the historical background at that time was not the same as it is in the present situation. China is now a socialist country in which the socialist public ownership of means of production--ownership by the whole people and ownership by the collective--has been established. Despite this, the basic principle put forth in Comrade Zhou Enlai's outline is still of great significance to the realization of socialist modernization in China.

In order to implement the eight-character policy of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement and in order to do a good job in achieving our socialist modernization, it is necessary for us to study Zhou Enlai's outline, which was written more than 30 years ago and which is still viable.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE GRAIN PROBLEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 81 pp 24-26

[Article by Liang Yan [2733 1693]]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, China has achieved faster recovery and development in agricultural production.

A series of the party's general and specific policies on rural areas have been earnestly implemented, and the productive enthusiasm of the masses of peasants has been brought into play. In 1978 and 1979 bumper harvests were achieved for 2 consecutive years and grain production increased by more than 90 billion jin; during these 2 years grain purchases by the state only increased by some 13 billion jin, and a great part of the increased grain output was retained in rural areas so that the grain stock for each peasant increased by an average of almost 100 jin. In 1980 serious losses were caused by natural calamities and there was a decline in grain production. However, since the state had reduced the quantity of grain purchases and increased the quantity of grain for sale in rural areas, many localities did not suffer from famine in a year of calamity, and the life of the masses was stable. The situation of rural areas was excellent. Along with the development of agricultural production, the financial income of peasants also increased; in 1979 the income of each peasant in the country was up by an average of some 7 yuan merely as a result of the policy of raising the purchase price of grain and oil, and the range of price increases for purchases in excess of buying quotas. The selling price was kept stable after the purchasing price of grain and the range of price increases for purchases in excess of buying quotas were raised; the price difference and operation costs were subsidized by financial departments of the state. This has produced a significant effect on stabilizing commodity prices and safeguarding the consumers' interests.

The improvement in the situation of grain has also created conditions for readjusting the overall arrangement of agriculture and developing cash crops as well as forestry, animal husbandry and fishery. In 1980 both the output and purchase volume of cotton, oil-bearing crops and pigs surpassed the highest levels in history; the situation of simultaneous development of the five undertakings and the fostering of the six types of livestock began to emerge in the rural economy.

Under the situation of having a large increase in the nonagricultural population over the past 2 years, the state has guaranteed the supply of the grain ration

for inhabitants in all cities and towns and has also guaranteed the basic requirements for grain by the industrial and commercial trades. At the same time, restrictions have generally been lifted in various places with respect to the country fair trade of grain, and the method of negotiating a price for buying and selling grain is practiced. This has produced a very good reaction on revitalizing the market, keeping the price of grain at a reasonable level, making things convenient for the masses and increasing the amount of grain purchases by the state. Now the market price of grain in most areas of the country has been kept relatively stable. Peasants can easily sell the grain they get and people in cities can buy the variety they want. Some precious varieties of grain which have not been seen for many years are also appearing in the country fairs and are being well received by the masses.

This situation shows that at present China's grain situation is fine in general. However, it is also necessary to note that although China's total grain output has increased considerably, the amount of unprocessed food grains (including food rations, seeds, feed and grain for industrial use) per capita is still only some 600 jin on the average because the population also keeps on growing. The marketable grain, in particular, still cannot meet the ever-increasing demands of various sectors. The whole party must therefore place the work associated with grain in an important position, keep paying close attention to it as well as doing a good job of it. We must not lower our guard.

At present readjusting the national economy is an enormous task which has been put before the people of the whole country. Maintaining steady growth in grain production is an important condition for safeguarding the smooth progress of economic readjustment. Agriculture forms the basis of the whole national economy and grain is the basis of agriculture. The running of any sort of undertaking--be it in industry, communications, science and technology, culture and education and others--involves grain.

Experiences since the founding of the state have shown that only when such a basis as grain has been handled well can the whole national economy possibly be fully developed. Grain is the most basic means of livelihood of the people. Man cannot go without meals and livestock cannot go without feed. Solving the problem of feeding a population of a billion people is still our first big task. Only by putting grain production in a top position and making great efforts in raising the grain output can the lives of a billion people in cities and villages be safeguarded and the political situation of stability and unity be consolidated and developed.

Since the 3d Plenary Session, authorities in various places have rectified the "leftist" mistake and overcome the deviation of paying attention only to grain and ignoring the overall development. By proceeding from reality and suiting measures to local conditions they have made great achievements in readjusting the internal structure of agriculture and promoting an all-round development in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery. We say grain production comes first but it is not the only job to do. It is impossible to become well off if attention is only paid to grain production and not to the development of a diversified economy. Therefore while grasping firmly the

production of grain it is also necessary to pay special attention to the all-round development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery. This is our important policy on developing agriculture and we need to persist in seriously carrying it out. At present a question which should attract special attention is the fact that in some regions the area of grain fields has been inappropriately reduced for developing cash crops in order to readjust the overall arrangement of agriculture. This tendency, if not stopped, will certainly affect the development of the whole national economy. Our general guiding thought is therefore that while it is necessary to place grain production in the top position, it is also necessary to develop a diversified economy, and while it is necessary to pay attention to giving play to the superiority of one's own locality so as to develop cash crops, it is also necessary to proceed from the situation as a whole, vigorously develop grain production under the guidance of state planning and pledge to fulfill the task of grain purchases assigned by the state. In all localities throughout the country, with the exception of certain regions having animal husbandry and forestry as the main line of business and bases of the main cash crops, it is necessary to place grain production in the top position and keep the area of grain fields stable without reducing it any further. When developing cash crops, it is necessary to take the production of grain as a basis and act according to one's capability. When giving up cultivation in favor of animal husbandry or forestry, it is necessary to go step by step in accordance with the situation of grain and not to be overanxious for quick results, since going too fast or too hastily would only spoil the whole thing. In developing agriculture and guaranteeing steady growth of grain production and cash crops, we must continue to rely first on policies and second on science. It is necessary to strengthen and perfect the production responsibility system as well as to make great efforts in raising the output per unit area. When developing a diversified economy, it is necessary to fully utilize land which has not yet been used, expand those lines of business which do not contend with cereal crops for land and insure an all-round development of both grain production and diversified economy. If all of us deviate from such a basis as grain, ignore the question of feeding a population of 1 billion people and wish to develop cash crops by relying on increasing the amount of grain moving in or reducing the amount of grain moving out or minimizing the tasks involved in grain purchasing, then the state cannot achieve a balance in the output and consumption of grain and the question of feeding the people of the whole nation cannot be guaranteed. This will then lead to undesirable consequences as happened in the past when undue emphasis was put on grain production at the expense of overall development.

Judging by the supply and demand of grain in China, the situation will not be comfortable for us either at present or for quite a long time in the future. Therefore it is a long-term strategic task both at present and from now on to attach importance to the grain problem and to pay close attention to grain production. Despite its large territory, China does not have plenty of arable land. The existing arable land accounts for only 10.3 percent of the country's area or an average of less than 2 mu per capita. This is an adverse element in developing agricultural production. From now on grain production will achieve faster development once we have shaken off the "leftist" restraints. Besides, most localities have at present a comparatively low output of grain per unit

area and so the potential to increase the yield is greater. It is also necessary to note, however, that the demand for grain is increasing both in cities and in villages. There are still some poor, low-yield areas where peasants do not get enough food rations, which need to be increased step by step on the basis of developing production. The annual increase in population, especially the increase of population consuming commodity grain, demands an increase in the consumption of grain. The development of animal husbandry and the readjustment of the distribution of agriculture need to be backed up with grain. Although the capital construction in agriculture over the years has had relatively great success, the capability to fight natural calamities is still not strong. Whether we can get a good harvest still depends to a very large extent on the climate, and harvest results in different years or different regions vary dramatically. In order to make up for the deficiency resulting from poor harvests with the surplus of bumper harvests and be prepared for possible natural calamities, both the state and the collective are required to increase the grain reserve. Therefore we must never be unrealistically optimistic and lower our guard on the grain problem. Some comrades think that grain production can now be treated a bit more lightly because they see that harvests of grain have been good in recent years and the problem of feeding the population is not that tense. This is obviously a one-sided and incorrect view.

In order to lighten the peasants' burden so that they can rest and build up strength and readjust the distribution of agriculture, it is necessary to import some grain each year. Since China has a huge population, however, the grain problem must be solved internally through self-reliance. At the same time, the supply of grain in the world market is limited and prices keep rising all the time. The method of importing some grain is therefore both unrealistic and unreliable.

At present it is necessary to do a good job of the work in the following aspects in connection with the grain problem.

1. We must vigorously develop the production of grain. This is the basic way to solve China's grain problem. We have to steadfastly carry out the substance of the two documents on agriculture issued by the Party Central Committee and the Party Central Committee's document No. 1 of 1980. We must persist in doing work in accordance with natural laws and economic laws and do a good job in capital construction of agriculture so as to achieve faster development in grain production and other agricultural byproducts. We must attach great importance to the construction of bases of commodity grain. We must vigorously develop the production of commodity grain. In 1978, a total of 222 counties throughout the whole country provided more than 100 million jin of commodity grain each. They represented 15 percent of the total number of counties in China and their grain output accounted for 36 percent of the total grain output of the country; the grain purchased by the state made up 49 percent of the total amount of grain purchases throughout the country, and the grain turned in or sold to the state by each member of the farming population was more than 77 percent of the nationwide average. The food ration for peasants in these regions has already reached a higher level and most of the increased grain output in the future will be commodity grain.

Therefore supporting and developing vigorously the grain production of these counties will produce extremely important results in guaranteeing the needs of the state and further improving the grain situation of our country. With respect to agricultural investment, the state must give priority to guaranteeing the construction of bases of commodity grain. As for the supply of goods and materials for agricultural use, it is necessary to guarantee the needs of the bases of commodity grain. It is necessary to strengthen guidance in state planning and guarantee stability in the area of grain fields in the bases of commodity grain. It is necessary to continue implementing and practicing the party Central Committee's economic policy for rural areas and adopt some appropriate economic measures to protect the economic interests of grain peasants so as to arouse their enthusiasm in raising the grain output and providing more commodity grain. It is also necessary to do a good job in grain production in other regions; in areas short of grain, particularly, it is even more necessary to grasp grain production firmly and well. State farms have better conditions for production than rural communes and production teams and should make a greater contribution in providing commodity grain to the state.

2. Do a good job of the rational distribution of grain and handle well the interests of the state, the collective and individuals. The amount of grain purchases by the state and grain purchases in excess of the buying quota must be reasonable. We must not purchase an excessive amount of grain but rather purchase a bit more when appropriate on the basis of increased production of grain thereby improving the life of peasants step by step. It is necessary to strengthen the propaganda and education for peasants, carry forward the glorious tradition of enthusiastically selling patriotic public grain to the state by the Chinese peasants so that more surplus grains are sold to help in the construction of the state. After fulfilling the programs for grain purchases and excessive grain purchases, the state should actively carry out grain purchase by negotiation in areas still having surplus grain so as to meet the peasants' request to sell their surplus grain. However, the method of cutting down the tasks of grain purchases or excessive grain purchases must not be used to expand the purchases by negotiation. The leading authorities concerned must strengthen their investigation and research regarding new situations and new problems that may arise in respect to the distribution, purchase and selling of grain and find a timely solution.

With respect to grain sales, the supply of food rations for the people and the supply of grain for essential use by industrial and commercial departments must be guaranteed in accordance with planning, and strict control must be imposed against any irrational sales volume. Regarding the change of the population from agricultural into nonagricultural, it is necessary to strictly implement the state's policy and planning and firmly forbid such unhealthy tendencies as acting wrongly out of personal considerations, entering by the back door and so on. It is necessary to keep grasping birth control well and make great efforts in reducing the birth rate so that special attention is paid to both material production and population growth. Requests for additional expenditures on grain must be strictly controlled. We must always act according to capabilities and keep the size of an undertaking within the limit of the amount of grain available.

3. We must adhere to state monopoly for purchasing and marketing grain and strengthen the control on grain. Experience has shown that when the level of grain production is low, the adoption of the policy of planned purchasing and planned supply (known more simply as state monopoly for purchasing and marketing) has produced important effects on purchasing and distributing grain in a rational manner, guaranteeing the needs of various sectors, stabilizing the life of the people and guaranteeing the construction of the state. Before China has secured a basic change in the unsatisfactory situation of grain supply, it is necessary to keep adhering to the state monopoly for purchasing and marketing of grain and emphasizing planned readjustment. We must not waver from this. At present it is necessary to stress the following points: Production teams and peasants must only be allowed to freely handle the surplus grain after they have completed the tasks of grain purchases or excessive grain purchases assigned by the state. Grain should be put under the unified management of grain departments only and not under any other departments or units. It is necessary to take strong measures against speculative activities involving grain or grain coupons and safeguard proper transactions carried out by the masses in the grain market; grain departments at various levels must all strictly implement the pricing policy of the state, strengthen management over the selling price of grain, stick to the correct managerial style and conscientiously decide on the price according to quality as well as guarantee both quality and quantity. As for transferring and allocating grain, it is necessary to strengthen viewing things in terms of the overall situation and all localities must submit to unified allocation by the state. Under the premise of adhering to the state monopoly for purchasing and marketing and unified allocation, it is necessary to make the work associated with grain a bit more active and make better arrangements to meet the needs of various sectors.

4. We must grasp well economizing on grain. The Chinese people have always had the fine tradition of being industrious and thrifty in managing a household and economizing on the use of grain. In recent years, since the situation of grain has been better, quite a few units and comrades have not adhered to this fine tradition, and the situation of wasting grain is getting more serious. For instance, the phenomenon of using grain to make wine, extracting sugar and the like is very common in rural areas, and the practice of economizing on the use of grain or of using substitutes in industry is declining. All this should arouse our due attention. China has a huge population and a weak foundation. Increasing the production of grain is, of course, important, but efforts to economize on grain must also not be slackened. It is necessary to strengthen the propaganda and education on the need to use grain in a planned way and on the importance of economizing on grain so as to make people of the whole country maintain the good tendency of using grain sparingly and economizing on grain.

All in all the work associated with grain is extremely important; it is in no way merely a simple piece of economic work, but rather a great political task which must be grasped firmly and done well. The whole year's work depends on making a good start in spring. Party committees at various levels and the government must mobilize the masses, make good arrangements for the programs of agricultural production for the year and strive to achieve all-round bumper harvests both in grain production and in the diversified economy.

RUN FORESTRY WORK ACCORDING TO LAW

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[Article by the Policy Research Office of the Ministry of Forestry]

[Text]

I

Our country is relatively poor in forestry resources. The present forestry area of the country occupies only 12.7 percent of the entire territory, averaging less than 2 mu per person, which is far below the world's average level. The present state of forestry is extremely inadequate for meeting the needs of national construction and the people's livelihood or for complying with the conditions for maintaining a natural ecological balance. How to develop and protect our forestry resources is an extremely difficult and urgent task facing us.

It is true that since the founding of our People's Republic, forestry construction has achieved rather big results. However, generally speaking, the speed of our forestry development has not been fast enough. In particular, the problem of protecting our forestry resources has not been adequately solved and there have been sporadic instances of wanton felling of trees with the result that many forests have been denuded on various occasions. In 1958, the "big iron and steel-smelting" campaign and the "blowing of the communist wind" both inflicted heavy damage on the forests. Later, the 10 disastrous years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" again damaged forests seriously. Since the latter half of 1979, the evil wind of forest denudation has spread on a nationwide scale. In many localities, hordes of people went to the mountains and indiscriminately cut down and destroyed trees. Many organizations, societies, schools, factories and mines and even individuals surged into the forest areas, indulging in the purchase, transport, sale or processing of timber materials there. At the same time, many state-run forestry units and people's communes, production brigades and teams in the forest areas cut and felled trees far in excess of the prescribed plans and sold the timber at negotiated prices. Instances of deforestation to open up wasteland and deforestation to make way for sideline occupations as well as forest fires were of frequent occurrence, resulting in further huge losses of forest resources. It is estimated that last year in the country as a whole over 200 million cubic meters of timber resources were consumed or destroyed. The timber-felling tasks assigned to Fujian Province by the state last year were some 3 million cubic meters, but the actual quantity of forest resources consumed or wasted in the province reached more than 20 million cubic meters, or many times

the state quota. Over the last 5 years, the forest area of this province was found to have been reduced by almost 4 million mu on average each year. Over the last 3 years in Guangdong Province alone, wanton felling of trees and forest denudation to open up wasteland destroyed nearly 6.94 million mu of forest area, and over 9 million cubic meters of timber were estimated to have been lost, which was about the aggregate timber-production quota of the province for a period of 5 years.

In the principal forestry areas in the northwest and southwest parts of the country, excessive felling of trees has been prevalent and afforestation has been sadly neglected, with the result that an increasing number of timber enterprises are facing a situation with few mature forests good for felling. The northwest region has few forest areas, but a state of serious forest denudation is in existence. As for those autonomous regions and provinces like Xinjiang, Gansu, Qinghai and Ningxia, some forest areas and belts for the protection of water resources or against wind or sandstorms as well as plantations and trees in the deserts have likewise been mutilated or destroyed. Obviously, if we do not take firm and decisive action now to protect the existing forests and to utilize them according to pre-laid plans and if we allow their continued denudation, then not many years from now, the forests in many of the localities may become completely obliterated. By that time the shortage of timber for national construction and for the people's livelihood will be further aggravated. What is more, this will further disrupt the ecological balance and invoke heavy punishment by mother nature. The dire consequences are unimaginable.

Many causes have accounted for the slow development of our forestry undertaking and for the frequent destruction of many of our forests. For example, we might cite such causes as the inadequacy of certain of our economic policies covering forestry, the insufficient capital investment in forestry, the uncertain ownership rights of some forestry areas, the irrational provisions in the existing system of economic control over forestry, and so on. However, an important reason is that the existing forestry law is not sound enough, that it is not strictly observed and that the culprits violating it are not duly punished or prosecuted. For this reason, the current tasks before us are that in addition to carrying out the various economic policies on forestry of the central government and further strengthening and improving the responsibility system, we should as soon as possible put our forestry law in better shape, and run forestry work according to law.

II

To run forestry work according to law means that we must employ legal means to protect forests and to develop forestry. This is called for by the functions and the special features of forestry.

First, forests not only provide timber and various kinds of timber products for national construction and for the people's livelihood, but also play an important role in maintaining the ecological balance, protecting and insuring production from agriculture and animal husbandry, as well as safeguarding the health and well-being of the populace. Since forests have strong public welfare and social

characteristics, the felling of trees in the forests and their utilization are not matters that concern only the forestry districts or the forest owners. As a matter of fact, they constitute important affairs related to the entire national economy, to the people's livelihood and to the interests and welfare of our future generations. This requires the state to take the whole situation into consideration and, bearing in mind the long-term and fundamental interests of the people, to put the forests in the whole country under unified control, provide them with due protection, and utilize them according to plan so that, despite more and more cutting and felling work in progress, more forests will come into being, better quality timber will be available for felling and the mountains will remain forever green and will be eternally available for utilization. To achieve this objective, it is necessary for the government to promulgate stern forestry laws and to resort to various legal and administrative means whenever intervention is necessary.

Second, forests are natural resources grown on the surface of the soil. Their growth takes a long period of time, and they have the characteristics of being easily destructible and difficult to recover. Trees which have gone through a prolonged period of growth, say 10 years or several decades, or even several centuries, can easily be felled with an ordinary axe, while a single spark can start an enormous fire which reduces acres of good forest land to ashes. Newly planted seedlings often die an early death by being trodden on by men or animals. According to incomplete statistics, since the founding of the People's Republic, only one-third of all the artificially planted forests in the whole country have managed to survive and over several hundred million mu of newly planted forests have died an early death. It is also estimated that wanton felling of trees, denudation of forests on the pretext of opening up wasteland and forest fires have destroyed not less than 100 million mu of forest areas. Losses of this kind are indeed gigantic! Moreover, the important problem lies in that forest denudation frequently brings in its wake changes in the conditions of the atmosphere, the soil and the natural environments of the forest areas which make it difficult for the newly planted trees to survive. In particular, in localities with thin top soil, destruction of forests will expose the top soil to erosion by the elements so that frequently bare rocks will appear on the surface, or the surface will become sandy, and the soil unfit for plants. This makes the regrowth of forests all the more difficult. The desert and rocky areas in the northwest and northern parts of the country are eloquent examples of such a transition. Hence, irrespective of whether we are talking about protecting the natural resources of the state or of reducing economic losses generally, the state should adopt sterner statutes than those customarily applicable to ordinary economic enterprises in order to put forests under rigid control and protection.

Moreover, it should be pointed out that our country has few forest areas but a huge population of over 1 billion people and that for the purposes of economic construction and to meet the livelihood uses of the people, the requirements for timber are daily increasing. This is indeed a big contradiction. For many years in the past, owing to the marked contradiction between the supply and demand of timber, whenever timber control became slightly relaxed, people from all directions would make swift forays into the forest areas, frantically

searching for timber. For example, last year in Shaoyang Prefecture of Hunan Province, people from 23 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions came to place orders for processed timber materials. According to recent incomplete statistics from the provinces and autonomous regions of Jiangxi, Sichuan, Guizhou, Guangdong, Guangxi, Hunan, Fujian and Gansu, people from other provinces found to be engaging in the timber business in the forest areas numbered over 54,000 people. It can thus be imagined that if the state does not enforce stern statutes but allows the various localities and units to freely engage in timber cutting, in buying and selling timber and in forest denudation at will, then it will be extremely difficult to keep intact the already small legacy of forest resources we have inherited from our forefathers. In our country, timber will remain for a long time a resource that is scanty in supply. To protect and exploit rationally our existing forests and to develop the forestry economy, the state must adopt a unified plan and carry out monopoly of purchase and marketing and unified control and management in regard to the timber industry.

III

To run forestry work according to law is a common trend in forestry development throughout the world. According to a preliminary survey, nearly 30 countries have formulated law codes for forest protection. Good results have been achieved in the restoration and development of forests. The "forestry laws" enacted by many countries usually provide that, irrespective of whether the forests are owned by the state or by individuals, without the government's consent, timber felling is not permissible and the willful damaging or destroying of forests is strictly prohibited. It is further provided that following the felling of trees, there must be replanting within a stated period prescribed by the state, otherwise the offenders will be subjected to economic penalties or even prosecuted by law.

Since the founding of our People's Republic, in order to protect the forests and to develop forestry, our party and government have promulgated a series of forestry policies and laws. However, owing to the "leftist" erroneous influence, particularly during the 10-year period of confusion during the "Great Cultural Revolution," the forestry policies and statutes were seriously interrupted and disrupted, as a result of which the laws could not be enforced. In 1979, the NPC promulgated new China's first "forestry law (trial)." Without doubt, this was extremely important for the restoration and development of forestry in our country.

At the moment, the principal problem in running forestry work according to law is that people have not yet acquired a unified understanding and have a rather low regard for law. It is frequently found that laws are not obeyed, that offenders are not prosecuted and that laws are not strictly enforced. At the same time, it is found that law codes are not entirely satisfactory while the units responsible for their execution are not well organized, and so on. In order to rectify such conditions swiftly, we should pay close attention to solving the following problems:

First, we must heighten our understanding of the important role of forests and reinforce our concept of the ownership rights of timber resources. For a long period of time, people have tended not to regard as lawbreaking or criminal offense such practices as the wanton felling of forest trees and forest denudation. As a result, in many localities when cases concerning damage to forests were investigated, it frequently happened that "the cadres supported the lawbreakers and the judicial officials were lenient." Certain localities even willfully avoided action and refused to handle such cases. The principal reasons for such conditions were: on the one hand, people lacked a clear understanding of the important function of forests and failed to see that forest denudation would bring serious consequences to national construction, particularly to the welfare of our people; on the other hand, people had a generally poor and rather vague conception of timber ownership rights in forests. In the eyes of some comrades, forests do not fall within the realm of the legal property of owners of hilly and forest areas but instead are "divine gifts from heaven," not protected by law and may be taken at will. Many localities were influenced by such erroneous thinking and therefore, when dealing with lawbreaking and criminal activities such as forest denudation, were lenient. They did not deal with the cases promptly, and even went so far as to adopt a conniving and laissez-faire attitude. The inevitable result was that wanton felling of trees was widespread and became a major disaster. We should learn a lesson from these experiences and bend our efforts toward heightening the understanding of the important role of forests on the part of the broad masses of cadres and the populace. We should make them penetratingly carry out the policy of "he who plants reaps" and firmly protect the forest and timber ownership rights of the state, of the collectives and of the individuals. Only when there is a stable policy which is trusted by the people can a stable situation for forest areas be insured. We must emphatically point out that forestry laws and statutes are part and parcel of the entire legal system of the state and that the administrative and judicial departments are dutybound to implement the forestry laws and statutes and bring to justice lawbreaking and criminal elements who practice forest denudation and destruction. At present, many cases of forest denudation are still pending and require the urgent attention of the administrative and judicial departments at various levels. They should severely deal with such cases and make a positive contribution to the protection and restoration of our country's forests.

Second, we must correctly understand and handle well the relationship between the implementation of the state's forestry policy and laws and such concepts as "giving priority to the mountainous regions," "enlivening the economy" and "enriching the populace." In recent years, following the policy of liberalization and the expansion of the autonomy of communes and production brigades, a portion of the cadres and of the populace have entertained the following biased view: in tightening control over tree-felling in forest areas and over timber and bamboo enterprises, the state is actually "strangling other people," and this goes against the concepts of "giving priority to the mountainous regions" and "enriching the populace," and violates the spirit of "respecting autonomy" and "enlivening the economy." In this way, the state's forestry policy and law were alleged to be against the interests of the populace. Many localities even openly called on those who wanted to get rich to "go to the mountains and fell

more trees." They strenuously demanded that the forest areas be "opened up" so that there would be free competition for all: in some localities forestry control was loosened or even put aside, disregarding the state's forestry policy and laws and allowing people to freely fell forest trees in their search for wealth. Many units and individuals took advantage of this opportunity to go into the forest areas. They competed with each other in felling trees and engaged in timber processing and in the timber business as a whole. This caused a steep rise in the price of timber while a large quantity of timber materials and trees which had not reached maturity were wantonly destroyed. This clearly showed that people were still ignorant of the truth that denuding a forest is easy but restoring it is difficult. At the same time, people seemed unable to understand the importance and the need to run forestry work according to law. As a matter of fact, running forestry work according to law can create good conditions for the display of the superiority of the mountainous regions, for enriching the economy in the mountains and increasing the wealth of their residents. In Fengcheng County, Liaoning Province, the trial "forestry law" was put into effect and it was soon found that forestry developed by leaps and bounds. In this county, in 1980 compared with 1978, the nursery area of seedling trees increased by 28 percent, the newly afforested area grew by 60 percent and forestry receipts doubled. This experience made it clear that running forestry work according to law and insuring forestry's continuous development is the correct way to fully mobilize the superiority of the mountainous regions and to increase the wealth of their residents.

Third, we must further improve the legal system governing forestry and at the same time augment the propaganda and educational work on it. The "forestry law" is the basic legal code on forestry in the country. It plays an important role in protecting the forests and promoting their development. It has been in effect on a trial basis for 2 years. The time is ripe for us to sum up the experiences gained, to make the necessary revisions and to promulgate and put it into formal operation as soon as possible. Meanwhile, the various localities and departments concerned should formulate the necessary supplementary regulations and complete and finalize the entire legal system concerning forestry. Supervisory and judicial organs at various levels should be formed, or if already formed should be improved, to meet the needs of running forestry work according to law. Uncertainty concerning forestry ownership rights in the mountains is an important cause of the damage done to forests. If this problem is not solved adequately, it will be difficult to run forestry work according to law. We should link the work of handling forest ownership disputes, affirming forest ownership rights and setting up a healthy agricultural production responsibility system, and place them under unified leadership and unified planning. Once the ownership rights of forests in the mountains have been clearly determined, they should be put on a long-term basis. Ownership certificates should be issued by the people's government at and above the county level, in this way providing advantageous conditions for the running of forestry work according to law.

Placing reliance on the populace for the protection of forests has been our established and effective policy for a long period of time. It is also an important condition for running forestry work according to law. We should, therefore, continue to mobilize the masses to formulate forest protection pacts

and to restore and improve the forest protection units and the forest control and protection systems. We should insist that the populace complete forest control and protection tasks and rely on them to prosecute the struggle against the lawbreaking and criminal activities of damaging or destroying forests.

At present, another important task in running forestry work according to law is to continue to do a good job of propaganda and educational work, and to make full use of various propaganda tools to propagate among the broad masses of cadres and people the important and urgent nature of forest protection and development. The forestry policy and legal codes of the state should be made known, and all those advanced units and progressive people who are models in law enforcement or have done exemplary work in forest protection should be publicized. Thus, by means of extensive and penetrating propaganda work, we can further heighten the ideology and understanding of the populace and reinforce their legal concepts. We can make everybody know and abide by the law and make cadres at various levels take the lead in law enforcement, so that a social atmosphere can be fostered which glorifies loving and protecting forests and condemns the lawbreaking activities of damaging or destroying forests.

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THE VICISSITUDES OF FORESTS IN THE MIDDLE REACHES OF THE HUANGHE RIVER AND THE EXPERIENCES AND LESSONS THEY PROVIDE

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[Article by Shi Nianhai [0670 1819 3189]]

[Text] The middle reaches of the Huanghe River flow through a loess plateau. In this locality, there once existed in history a forest area of immense proportions. At its most flourishing period, the great majority of the hills and open country were dotted with trees. However, now the locality is a loess plateau, with many gullies and ravines and interspersed with deserts, and there are very few trees. From this contrast, we can imagine the enormous changes that have taken place. If we can explore the course of the transition, find out the causes for the denudation of the forests and learn the experiences and lessons therefrom, it will be vastly important and realistically significant to our work of coming to grips with and putting into effect objective laws and accomplishing the four modernizations.

I

Forests in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River reached the climax of their development at the very early period of mankind's history. At that time both agriculture and animal husbandry were in the initial stage of development. They occupied little land and forests could freely expand and spread in all directions. Mankind not only ate fruit from the trees but also used timber to build houses. The firewood used in cooking and to keep warm was likewise taken from trees felled in the forests. However, the quantity consumed was extremely small. What is the reason for the present scarcity of trees in the locality? In fact, the locality passed through a prolonged course of events which can be described in the following four stages:

First, let us turn to the periods of the Western Zhou, the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States. Actually, these may be grouped into two main stages. The first stage comprised the period of the Western Zhou dynasty and the Spring and Autumn period. At that time the population in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River was still rather sparse. The people's activities were limited. Agriculture and animal husbandry were still in the early stage of development and the primeval forests were kept basically intact. By the time of the second stage,

that is, during the Warring States period, and following the gradual expansion of the agricultural areas, forests basically disappeared from such localities as the lower reaches of the Yiluo River in western Henan Province, the Qinyang basin south of the Taihang mountain range, and the flatlands along the valleys of the Fen and Su rivers in the southwestern part of Shanxi Province. However, on the relatively larger plain along the valleys of the Xing and Wei rivers in the middle part of Shaanxi Province, a portion of the original forest remains to this day.

Second, let us turn to the period of the Qin, Han, Wei, Jin, and the Northern and Southern dynasties. Both the Qin and Han dynasties chose the Guanzhong plain as their capital. The Guanzhong plain was known for its rich and fertile soil and was called at the time the "land sea." The so-called "land sea" included in its realm the Qinling mountain range in the south, and in the territory of the "land sea" were forests with their numerous varieties of plants and trees. At the time, the people not only frequently talked in glowing terms about the forests in the Guanzhong plain and in the Qinling mountain range but also mentioned the forests west of Longshan between Shaanxi and Gansu provinces. The forests west of Longshan covered a rather wide area, extending from the upper reaches of the Weihe River up to the valley of the Yaohe River. Since there were forests everywhere, people constructed their houses entirely out of wood. The houses thus earned the name of "wood-board houses." This mode of housing construction has become a legacy, carried on and preserved for over 1,000 years. At Guanzhong's eastern extremity lies Hangu Guan, in what is now known as Lingbao County in the western part of Henan Province. Hangu Guan occupies a strategic position, flanked by the Yaoshan mountain range in the south and the Huanghe River in the north. At the time, the forest area in the Yaoshan mountain range, extending far and wide, reached the banks of the Huanghe River. Hangu Guan was thus in the middle of a thick forest area. With the thick foliage of the trees blotting out the entire sky, travelers in the region could hardly see the sun for days on end. This place was also known at the time by another name, the "Pine Fort." From this nickname, it can be surmised that there were many pine trees in the region. Lying close to the west of "Pine Fort" was "Peach Fort," which meant that peach trees were in abundance in the locality. Along the northwest frontier of the Guanzhong plain was Ziwu Ling, now known as Kaishan, on the border of Shaanxi and Gansu provinces. The southern tip of this mountain range was known as Ganchuan Shan. Because of the luxuriant forest growth on top of this hill, the water flowing from the rocks at the foot of the hill was clear and sweet. The imperial courts of the Qin and Han dynasties built their palaces at the foot of the hill, and the Ganchuan palaces were known as scenic spots throughout the country. It was here that the heads of the two dynasties formulated their policies and plans for the whole country, and the palaces remained in use for over 200 years. Up to the last years of the Northern and Southern dynasties, the forests in the mountains there remained fairly intact but those on the plains in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River had basically disappeared. Here mention must be made of the forest belt planted in the eastern part of the E Er Duo Si [0614 1422 1122 2448] plateau at the time of the Qin and Han dynasties. The planting of this forest belt began during the later part of the Warring States period. It continued to grow and develop up to the middle period of the Western Han dynasty. It was located along the Great Wall built

during the Qin dynasty, although at some points it was at quite a distance from the wall. Because of the large number of elm trees planted, it was also known as "Elm Fort." Besides elm trees, pines and cypress trees were also planted. After the forest belt was planted, it began to spread to other areas and was not confined to only one side of the Great Wall. This had the effect of converting the southern part of the E Er Duo Si plateau into a forest area. At present, a solitary big pine tree can still be found in Yangshita, southwest of Jungar Banner. This pine tree is estimated to be over 900 years old, and was probably planted at the time of the Northern Song dynasty. In Guanshi town north of Yangshita, many big tree stumps can still be found. From the Han graves in the E Er Duo Si plateau, wooden coffins and wooden outer coffins have been unearthed. The coffins and the outer coffins were both made of round tree stumps of a rather wide diameter. This proved that forests used to exist there, and this was further confirmed by the large number of tree trunks and stumps found in the locality. The fact that the forest in "Elm Fort" had successfully survived tended to refute the theory that dry land was not suitable for forest development.

Third, let us turn to the period of the Tang and Song dynasties. The Tang dynasty, like the Qin and Han dynasties, chose the Guanzhong plain as its capital. By the middle of the Tang dynasty, it apparently was found that the timber supply from the Qinling mountains could not meet demands and help would have to be sought from elsewhere. Apparently the forest area in the mountainous regions was shrinking. At the same time, the forest on Chishan, a small hill across the Weihe River and opposite the Qinling mountains, appeared to be thriving at one time, but by the time of the Northern Song dynasty, it had become a bare hill devoid of trees. In addition, two more hills in Guanzhong can be mentioned. One was Ziwuling and the other was Huanglong Shan. The forests in Ziwuling appeared to be then in very good shape but the forests in Huanglong Shan were mentioned in the period for the first time. Quite possibly, the forests on these hills were then still unmolested.

Kaifeng was the capital city of the Northern Song dynasty. It was located in the lower reaches of the Huanghe River, not far from the Songshan and Yaoshan mountains, or from the Zhongtiao, Wangwu and Taihang mountains on the north bank of the Huanghe River. All these mountain ranges used to have luxuriant forests, but the timber used in Kaifeng appeared to have come from elsewhere. Evidently, the forests mentioned here must have been denuded or have shrunk.

In the Tang dynasty, the more important forest areas were located in Feng and Sheng prefectures. The Sheng Prefecture of the Tang dynasty was in effect the former Yuxi in the Jungar Banner on the E Er Duo Si plateau. The Feng Prefecture of the Tang dynasty was in what is now Feng County of Shanxi Province, located in the northern part of the Luliang mountains. What people in the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern dynasties frequently called the "Xihe mountain forests" was the western extension of the Luliang mountain range to the east of E Er Duo Si plateau. Among these forests, the particularly luxuriant ones were on the western bank of the Huanghe River. What was referred to in the Tang dynasty as the forests of the Luliang mountains was originally confined to those of Feng Prefecture in the north, but by the time of the Song dynasty, the whole range of forests in the Luliang mountains was included. In the Northern

Song dynasty, another important forest area was located in Longshan, west of Guanzhong and in the upper reaches of the Weihe River further west of Longshan. After the Northern Song dynasty, the timber-felling area gradually extended westward to such places as Tianshui Gangu and eventually to the town of Luomen.

The Hengshan mountain range spans the northern part of Shaanxi Province. Because of the hostile relations between the Northern Song dynasty and the Western Xia, this mountain range became an important protective belt for the Northern Song's border defense, and consequently the forests there were well cared for and protected. Similarly, the forests in Luya Shan and Yunzhong Shan and along the strip of land extending northwestward to the banks of the Huanghe River were located in a strategic area for the Northern Song's defense against the Qidan, and were therefore well preserved and protected. Meantime, the forests in the Yinshan mountain range in Nei Monggol were well-known during the period of the Qin and Han dynasties. They became the principal timber-felling areas at the time of the Northern Wei dynasty.

Fourth, we come to the periods of the Ming and Qing dynasties. Coming after the social disorders that had been rampant during the Jin and Yuan dynasties, the Ming dynasty found that the forests had been rather mutilated. However, during the early years of the Ming dynasty, the forest areas along the middle reaches of the Huanghe River were still not too small or narrow. For example, the forests in the Luya and Yunzhong mountains in northwestern Shanxi Province and those in the Hengshan mountain range in northern Shaanxi Province were still relatively intact. Moreover, the forests in the Qinling and Yaoshan mountain ranges, though damaged, had recovered to a certain extent. People at the time used to describe the forests in Shanxi Province as especially luxuriant. Unfortunately, after the middle period of the Ming dynasty, the situation changed greatly and the forest areas dwindled with the result that the remaining forests were damaged almost beyond repair. The forests lying in the northern part of the Hengshan and Luliang mountains were denuded one after the other. The only comparatively large forests in the upper reaches of the Weihe River that still remained were those in Longshan and in Liupan Shan. The more prominent forests at this time worthy of note were those in the Luliang mountains and those in the eastern section of the Zhongtiao mountains and in the southern section of the Taihang mountains. The forest areas in Ziwuling and in Huanglong Shan along the two banks of the Luohe River were still not small but were comprised mostly of thin trees, mainly regrown trees. Apart from them, it was almost impossible to find any more patches of forest still in fairly good shape in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River.

This, in short, was the legacy of forests left by the earlier generations at the time of the liberation of the entire country. It was in sharp contrast to the situation in the early historical period when luxuriant forests were found practically everywhere. Some people who saw only the remains of a deteriorated situation were moved to remark that a loess plateau is not suitable for forest development. This remark not only contradicts historical reality but also adversely affects the efforts now being made to develop forestry in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River.

The reduction in size of the forest areas in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River was the result of a prolonged period of damage done to the areas. Both natural and manmade causes brought about this situation. Drought and extremely cold weather led to the premature death of trees not suited to the climate. Soil salination also affected the growth of many kinds of trees. Spontaneous combustion caused by lightning often resulted in forest fires, while even harmful insects might cause epidemics among the trees. However, these natural disasters were taken lightly by people at that time, which could be one reason why they were little reported. But, in comparison with the damage done by nature, manmade damage was much more serious. However, the manmade damage was rather complex in nature and cannot all be treated alike.

Both agriculture and forestry require land. If the agricultural area is expanded, this naturally means that the forest area must be correspondingly reduced. The growth and decline of forest areas and agricultural areas began first on the flatlands, principally in what is now the western part of Henan Province in the lower reaches of the Yiluohe River and in the Qinyang basin south of the Taihang mountains, and also in the valleys of the Fen and Su rivers in the southwestern part of Shanxi Province and in the valleys of the Jing and Wei rivers in the central part of Shaanxi Province. The denudation of forests on the flatlands had two clear peaks. One was during the early Warring States period when Shangyang carried out political reforms and the other was during the Western Wei period of the Northern dynasty. The special characteristic of the former was seen in the relative growth and decline of agricultural land and forest land respectively on the flatlands, while the latter clearly showed the basic elimination of forests on the flatlands. At the time of Shangyang's political reforms, agricultural land had already enjoyed a prolonged development and Shangyang himself was in favor of the large-scale opening up of wasteland. However, at the time some rather meticulous planning work had been done concerning land utilization and the decision was that "mountain forests" should make up about 10 percent of the total land area. Although mention was made here of "mountain forests" only, in reality forests on flatlands were included. However, by the time of the Western Wei dynasty, this decision had been basically disregarded, because at that time forests on the flatlands no longer existed and even trees along roads had to be replanted. But the trees planted along the roads were extremely sparse; one tree was planted for each li of road. In some cases, there were 3 trees for every 10 li of road or 5 trees for every 100 li. How is it possible to call such a sparse grouping of trees a forest?

The development of agriculture was not confined to the flatlands. This all the more accelerated forest denudation in the hilly regions, although we cannot ascribe forest denudation in the hilly regions solely to the development of agriculture. Nevertheless, once a forest in the hilly region had been denuded, the forest land was frequently opened up to become farmland. This phenomenon was particularly prevalent during the Ming and Qing dynasties. At that time, in order to increase grain production, the authorities resorted to the measure of having garrison troops open up wasteland and grow foodgrain in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River. Each garrison soldier was assigned 50 to 100 mu,

and some even more. As a result, all types of wasteland, old and new, came under this measure, and this included mountain sides and hilly regions. It was in this period that the forests in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River suffered the heaviest damage, to the point of extinction. In reality, this extensive cultivation and planting over such a wide area could not reap the benefits of intensive and meticulous farming and only very small harvests could be expected. With such a farming method, the loss outweighed the gain and a very high price was paid. Concretely speaking, the high price paid was the rapid increase in the intensity of gullies and ravines in the loess plateau and the frequent flooding of the river banks in the lower reaches of the Huanghe River. But let us not talk about the dangers caused by reclaiming wasteland to the lower reaches of the river. Even in the middle reaches, it was a vicious circle, that is, the more the reclamation, the poorer the people and the poorer the people, the more the reclamation. Meanwhile, gullies and ravines appeared in increasing numbers while cultivated land gradually dwindled. Even now some people still stick to the old tactics and continue to destroy forests to create more farmland. Naturally, the old mistakes are being committed again and the consequences can be imagined.

Like agriculture, the development of animal husbandry affected the forest areas, making them dwindle and even eventually disappear. Historically, the areas for animal husbandry in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River underwent rather large changes. At present, a large portion of the E Er Duo Si plateau still consists of pasture for animal husbandry, but in many of the provinces and regions, some of the land formerly devoted to animal husbandry has now been converted into farming areas while some are being used partly for farming and partly for animal husbandry. The denudation of the forest area in the E Er Duo Si plateau could be ascribed partly to agriculture, but in the main was a result of the development of animal husbandry. The denudation of the forest areas in the plateau brought about the formation and subsequent expansion of the desert area, which in turn greatly restricted the development of animal husbandry. This was outside the expectation of those who had originally meant to denude the forests to facilitate animal husbandry. Since the change into desert of this region was connected with the damage done to the forests, it also transpired that the results of the change from forestry to animal husbandry enabled the desert area to take up more grassland. Thus, not only did the grassland not expand but also serious consequences occurred.

The conversion of grassland into farmland made the development of forestry even more difficult. To illustrate, take the example of the valley of the Malian He River, a tributary of the Jinghe River, and particularly the Dongji plain in the neighborhood of Qingyang. This locality has on record very few references to the existence of a forest, not because of an accidental omission but because during the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties after the Warring States period, the frequent changes, back and forth, from agriculture to animal husbandry had provided no opportunity for the restoration of forestry. After the Northern dynasty, agriculture in this locality maintained a stable existence, just as in other agricultural areas. As for those areas partly devoted to agriculture and partly to animal husbandry, the existence of forests was even more unlikely. This was because the flatland was given over to agriculture while the

mountains and slopes of hills were devoted to animal husbandry. The growth of animal husbandry in the mountains and on the slopes of hills not only seriously impaired the chances for forests but also retarded and prevented the growth of grass and other vegetation. Soil erosion was bound to follow, and gullies and ravines increased in number. The large number of gullies and ravines in Hsiao Kanau, northern Shaanxi and northwest Shensi are attributable not only to the effects of the destruction of forests in order to create farmland but also to the excessive pursuit of animal husbandry. At present, some comrades have suggested that in the loess plateau the area devoted to agriculture should be suitably reduced to make more land available for forestry and animal husbandry. This is certainly a very rational suggestion. In reality, not only should agriculture return some of its land to forestry but also animal husbandry should do likewise. To change in a suitable manner the proportions of land allocation between agriculture and animal husbandry on the one hand and forestry on the other should serve as an important factor in promoting the development of agriculture and animal husbandry.

But what has escaped people's notice is the damage done to the forests owing to the use of firewood for fuel. The use of firewood for fuel probably dated from the time when man first acquired the knowledge of how to use fire. When Chang'an was made the dynastic capital, all the firewood and charcoal consumed in the capital came from the forests in the Qinling mountains. Before the discovery of coal, the source of firewood was naturally the forests, yet even after the discovery of coal, the forests were still regarded as the principal source, because of the limited coal supply and transport difficulties. Ordinary households could, of course, use straw and plant stalks for fuel, but owing to the limited quantities available they could not replace firewood entirely. Indeed, we need not turn to ancient history to prove that this practice was the prime cause for the destruction of forests, as everybody can tell the same story. Even at present, this practice can hardly be changed. But if this custom of using firewood for fuel is not changed, then regardless of the extent of expansion of the forestry areas, these areas will not be able to stand the strain for long. This leads us to draw attention to another urgent problem, namely, that before afforestation is begun in any locality we should gradually solve the problem of the residents using firewood for fuel, as otherwise we will find that although trees are planted every year the land is still devoid of trees and that the so-called greening of the country is only an empty gesture.

The development of agriculture and animal husbandry and the consumption of firewood in daily living naturally contributed to the demise of forests, but actually they were only part of the cause. The building of big palaces by the feudal regimes, which consumed large quantities of timber, constituted another cause contributing to the demise of forests. The Guanzhong plain served as the site for the capitals of several regimes. It was here that large numbers of big and luxurious residences were built for the high officials of these regimes. Naturally, they used a tremendous amount of good timber from the forests. To be sure, the mountains to the north and south of Guanzhong were at one time covered with luxuriant forests which should easily have sufficed for these purposes. However, in the last years of the Eastern Han dynasty when Hongchao forced the emperor to move the capital to Chang'an, palaces and officials'

residences had to be built anew but strangely the timber required had to come from the forests in the upper reaches of the Weihe River. Similarly, in the middle period of the Tang dynasty, timber supply came as far as from the E Er Duo Si plateau and the northern tip of the Luliang mountains. Evidently, by that time the timber supply from the forests in the hills north and south of Guanzhong had already been depleted. Even when subsequently the capital was moved further east to Luoyang and Kaifeng, the timber supply had to come from the forests in the Luliang mountains along the Huanghe River. It thus appears that, for the sake of building these new capital cities, several large forests in the mountains were devastated. As for other large and small cities at the time, the timber used for construction purposes had to come from neighboring forests.

It might be added that during times of peace, the damage done to forests was more or less restricted, but this cannot be said of the damage done to forests in times of social disorder. In particular, the ravages of war frequently entailed the wholesale destruction of forests in order to make way for the armed forces, while the intentional burning of forests as a military strategy was not infrequent. The consequences of this were extremely serious. It is recorded that in the early years of the Eastern Han dynasty, in the battle to subdue the rebellious Kuixiao, whose forces were entrenched west of the Longshan mountains, the forests in the locality had to be destroyed to make way for the armies. This tragedy was repeated at the time of the Northern Wei dynasty. In this way, extreme damage was done to the forests in Longshan. Moreover, only some 40 years ago, the Japanese imperialists on numerous occasions set fire to the forests in the hills in the northwestern parts of Shanxi Province, as a result of which the trees there were completely obliterated.

In the course of the destruction of the forests in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River, history records little effort for afforestation and reforestation. If any exception was found, then we might mention the case of the forest building in Yuxi, in the E Er Duo Si plateau, during the last years of the Warring States period and during the Western Han dynasty. In the middle period of the Ming dynasty, after the thorough destruction of the forests lying between Yanmen and Pianguan, some people felt the need for doing some reforestation work in the locality, but their wishes were never fulfilled and the forest areas were allowed to remain denuded.

Indeed, we must learn from past experience. The development of forests in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River has a rather long history. Because of the long-term damage done to them, they have not yet completely recovered. But such phenomena will become things of the past. If only we can work according to objective laws, learn from the experience and lessons of the past generations, bend our efforts toward protecting the existing forests and building up new forests, then there is great hope for the final restoration of the forests in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River. It is our belief that under the correct guidance of the party Central Committee, the loess plateau, covered with wounds, will one day be clothed with a luxuriant green garment of trees and be completely changed in appearance. History has bestowed on us this important task. We are certain it can be fulfilled in a glorious manner.

MODERN ART AND US

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[Article by Wang Qi [3769 3823]]

[Text] Because of the "leftist" influences for many years and the restrictive cultural policies adopted by the "gang of four," we were not allowed to come into contact with foreign art, and were thus cut off from the other parts of the world in the realm of culture and art. Culture has been liberated since the overthrow of the "gang of four." Many young people are eager to understand what art in Western capitalist countries is like, and they hope to learn useful things from it. We fully understand how they feel.

Learning from the fine experiences of art in other countries is an indispensable condition for developing our own art. Lu Xun made this point more than 40 years ago. He thought that learning from tradition and from other countries helped develop the newly emerging art of wood-carving in our country. At that time Lu Xun considered the introduction of foreign art as a very important task and set good examples for us with his own practice on the question of how to correctly handle foreign art. He opposed both total rejection and blind worship. He advocated the scientific analysis of foreign art and adopted various methods for dealing with it. For example, he resolutely opposed the intriguing formalist style prevailing in painting circles at that time. However, he did not exclude and negate all formalistic painters but appropriately affirmed the role they played in art circles at that time.

In the past we lacked Lu Xun's spirit of seeking truth from facts in handling the question of foreign art. We either lavishly praised or denigrated it. For a long time, whenever Western art was mentioned, it appeared as if only the art of Greece, Rome, the Renaissance and the 19th century was the object of our study and our model. We rejected out of hand the art of the impressionist school and the various schools of modern art as the decadent art of the bourgeoisie. Now when we assess these schools once again, some people extol and affirm them in toto as showpieces of artistic creations. This simple, one-sided attitude is hardly convincing.

Western modern art is a complicated phenomenon. It is the inevitable outcome of capitalist society developed to a certain stage and is the artistic reflection

of bourgeois ideology. However, this does not mean that all phenomena in modern art thoroughly embody the decadent bourgeois ideology, that there are no progressive or healthy elements in it, and that formalistic art does not include any realistic elements at all. Take the five principal schools of painting in modern art: the Fauvist school advocates the expression of the "individuality" of the painter; the expressionist school advocates the expression of the subjective "feelings" of the painter; the cubist school advocates the expression of the multiple aspects of the "form" and the internal structure of an object; the futurist school advocates the expression of the "movement" of substance; the realist school advocates the expression of the world in the "imagination" and dreams of the artist and his subconscious world. Among them, "individuality," "feelings," "imagination" or "movement" are essential elements in the works of realist painters. In the realm of creation, we have lacked essential elements such as a clear-cut "individuality," strong "feelings" and rich "imagination." Consequently, descriptions are factual and the same for everyone, and depiction is straightforward. Our artistic works lack a rich and varied outlook or a strong artistic influence. However, since the formalists regard art as a purely personal undertaking unrelated to the collective, and negate the moral functions of art in human society and totally ignore the needs of appreciation of the broad masses of people, the "individuality," "feelings," "movement" and "imagination" which they stress all originate in the artists as individuals, and they regard art as a tool to give expression to their own feelings. When they give play to the role of "individuality," "feelings" or "imagination" in art, they do not aim at a more profound and fuller expression of the outlook of the objective and real world but only at the expression of the subjective views of the artist himself toward the objective world. Such views are often unrelated to objective reality. In creation, we need to emphasize the important role of elements such as "individuality," "feelings" and "imagination," but we are essentially different from the formalistic painters in the form and reason for using these elements.

At present, some of our comrades in artistic circles are interested in pursuing the style of Western modern painting. We have not yet seen any marked influences of the cubist and futurist schools, while the style of the expressionist and realist schools has made a deeper mark on certain works. What are the reasons for their interest in these two schools? Why is there a new appreciation in the socialist China in the 1980's of the artistic schools which were born in the Western capitalist countries but soon perished at the beginning of this century? This is a question worthy of serious investigation.

Expressionism is a school of painting which emerged in Germany at the beginning of this century. The "Bridge," the earliest organization which it founded, was formed by several young students of the Dresden School of Art. They held exhibitions and issued proclamations. They regarded the subjective feelings of the artist as the highest goal of artistic expression. Since they were not satisfied with the state of affairs at that time and had a negative attitude toward all of society, they viewed everything in real life as ugly and distorted. Therefore, they considered the task of the artist to be the revelation and exposure of life's ugly features with the expression of the utmost detestation. The more naked and thorough the exposure, the better. They had lost faith in the future

of mankind and thought that there were no beautiful things in life worthy of praise. Neither was there a moral force giving impetus to progress in human society. There was only darkness before their eyes. They hated reality on the one hand, and on the other, were discouraged and disappointed with reality. From the negation of the actual society, they went on to negate themselves and ultimately everything. Therefore, many expressionists later turned to Dadaism, a branch of nihilism which emerged in Western Europe at the beginning of this century, while some turned to surrealism.

Surrealists also start from negating reality and think that there is not a single merit in the objective world in which people live. Artists cannot gain satisfaction in this world and must create another "new" world. This world transcends the actual world and only exists in the subconsciousness and the dreams of the artists. The artists should seek inspiration from this world to find their inner hearts' content.

Although expressionism and surrealism are different in their artistic viewpoints, principles of creation and forms of expression, there are also common points between them. These are mainly:

- (1) Negation of the existing objective world and exploration of the inner world of individuals;
- (2) Loss of faith in the future of mankind and the view that bright ideals do not exist;
- (3) In the eyes of these artists, there are no beautiful things which are worthy of praise but only ugly things which should be exposed.

Under the brushes of the expressionist painters, no beautiful images can be seen and there are only ugly and distorted images. The features of people are abnormal. People are nervous, sentimental and sometimes frantic. The natural scenes are also shattered, cold and desolate. In order to stress the manifestation of the subjective feelings of the artists, the expressionist painters have adopted a strong, rustic and unrestrained means of expression. An exquisite and delicate style cannot be found in expressionist works.

The image sought in the subconsciousness of the surrealists is sometimes depicted with a painstaking and precise naturalist method. The details and composition of the picture are absurd and wild. The surrealists lead people from the pictures to a desolate, shady world filled with mystery and terror.

All these works reflected the frustrated, anxious, pessimistic and desperate state of mind of the young intellectuals at that time and revealed the contradictions, pain and sense of insecurity in their inner world and their disillusionment with the future of mankind and ideals in life. This was because, in the imperialist era, the high degree of monopoly of capital had deepened the decadent nature of capitalist society, intensified the contradictions in society, and accelerated the destruction of the normal relationships between man and society, between man and nature, between man and man and between man and himself, thus

inflicting serious spiritual and psychological wounds on the upright intellectuals and causing a new turmoil in feelings--depression, mistrust of scientific truth, weakening of beliefs, a deluge of extreme individualism and concepts of nihilism.... All this was reflected to varying degrees in modern art (especially works of the expressionists and surrealists) at that time.

Now, when we see the remnants of expressionism and surrealism at certain exhibitions, we cannot help but think that after the "unprecedented" 10-year catastrophe, the serious material and spiritual wounds which the feudal fascist dictatorship of the "gang of four" has inflicted on our country and our people are also "unprecedented." The concepts of Marxism-Leninism are not too strong in some young people's minds, and their belief in socialism has been shaken. They are skeptical about the four basic principles and lack sufficient confidence in our construction of the four modernizations. They view the objective realities around them as a chaotic, abnormal, distorted and incompletable world. This disillusionment, anxiety, frustration and disappointment with socialist realities have found a strong echo in the expressionist and surrealist works in the past, and these young people seem to see their own spiritual outlook in these works. It is, therefore, very appropriate that they should seek help from this artistic language to express their inner feelings. Such works also naturally gain the appreciation and praise of a considerable number of admirers who share the same feelings as these painters. Just as Lu Xun said many years ago, these works directly depict the true feelings of the artists, and we can see here the true reflection of the psychological state of some of the intellectuals. Thus, we can only point out that such a reflection is mostly pessimistic and is heavily tinted with individualism and anarchism. Some of these works have, from a personal angle and from the angle of a deviant collective, negated the entire socialist society. Such works are even more problematic. Some of these works play a certain role in exposing and criticizing existing unreasonable phenomena, but they have, on the other hand, exercised an overwhelming pessimistic influence on our construction of socialism. Moreover, we would be standing truth on its head if we were to handle socialist society today in the form which the artists handled monopoly capitalist society in capitalist countries in the past. It is very wrong to equate the shortcomings and errors of a socialist society with the decadent nature of a capitalist society.

In Western capitalist countries, the struggle between two different kinds of tendencies (formalism and realism) has always existed in art. There are also many artists who have emerged from the fortress of formalism. For example, the German satiric painter Georg Grosz, who was very famous at the time, took the path from expressionism through Dadaism to realism. Joan Miro went from surrealism to realism. Lauxieer went from cubism to realism. Some realist painters such as Andre Fuzhelong in France, Franz Masereel in Belgium, Renato Guttuso in Italy, David Alfaro Siqueiros in Mexico, Charles Watt and Anton Refregier in the United States were influenced to varying degrees by modern art, but they persevered in following the lofty goal that art must serve the progress of the broad masses of people and mankind. Their art has all along been welcomed by the broad masses of the people in the capitalist countries and is antagonistic to the abstract painters, who are supported by a small number of monopoly capitalists but rejected by the broad masses of people. We should advocate the

liberation of culture, draw lessons from foreign art and absorb good experience and nutrition from the works of these realist painters. As for formalist art, some works play the role of exposing and criticizing capitalist society and there is a certain significance in understanding them. They also have a certain renovative spirit in the means of artistic expression. All this should be appropriately affirmed. But if we take them as our models and continue on the old path which they have taken in our process of creating new socialist art, then we, like the practitioners of modern art, are turning back the wheel of history and will ultimately go down a blind alley.

It would be a very absurd idea to create new socialist art along the lines of capitalist art!

Since our art has been subjected to "leftist" intervention and influences for many years, we have taken many circuitous paths and there are many shortcomings. This is a fact which cannot be concealed. However, this is not a fault caused by our taking the socialist path but rather by our one-sided and limited recognition and understanding of socialist art. We have been subjective in our work and have deviated from administrative orders. We have not done things in accordance with the characteristics of art itself and the laws of art. We should not have interfered so much in artistic creation. We have not been able to attain the achievements in art we should have attained. On the contrary, we have created tendencies we should not have created. Such tendencies have become pretexts for certain people who oppose socialist art to attack us. We have now put down rebellion and restored order and liberated thinking. In art, we must open wide the road of art, seriously implement the party policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and guarantee that the artists have full freedom on the question of "what to express" and "how to express it." These measures and reforms are geared to one goal, namely, to uphold in a better way the party leadership in artistic undertakings, better develop the abilities of each artist, and strive to create a newer and more beautiful socialist art.

Expressionism and surrealism, as artistic movements, vanished long ago in history, but the influences of these schools left a mark on certain of our works today. This is not strange. Although there are alarming similarities between certain parts of history, there is absolutely no repetition in history. Moreover, since there were artists who, alarmed at the progressive trends of thought at that time, turned toward realism, we believe that in the surging trends of revolutionary thoughts today, those artists who are doubtful, who wait and see and who linger at the crossroads will eventually wake up after social practice and find the correct and healthy path of art which they should follow.

CSO: 4004

WHY MUST CHINA PRACTICE FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF TODAY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 81 pp 39-40

[Article by Lei Zhenchang [7191 6966 7049]]

[Text] Some people point out: China is a socialist country with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guide. Communists are atheists. Why has China adopted the policy of allowing freedom of religious belief?

It is true that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the thinking guiding our party and our country. Marxism is thoroughgoing materialism. It not only disagrees with the religious idealist world outlook but also attempts to gradually emancipate those who believe in religion from the fetters of religion. Opposing theism is the elementary principle for all materialists and Marxists. However, the existence of religion is caused by ideological understanding, in addition to economic factors. The viewpoint that holds that religion will disappear by itself very quickly with the development of economic construction, science and technology is unrealistic. For this reason, it is necessary to lay down correct principles and policies toward religion. Freedom of religious belief is one of these principles and policies.

As stipulated in the constitution, the freedom to believe in religion is the basic policy by which our party and our country handles religious problems. As put forth in this policy, every Chinese citizen enjoys the freedom to believe in religion and the freedom not to believe in religion; he enjoys the freedom to believe in the religion of his choosing; he enjoys the freedom to believe in one sect or another of the same religion; he enjoys the freedom to believe in religion today and not to believe in it tomorrow and also the freedom not to believe in religion today but to believe in it tomorrow; a clergyman enjoys the freedom to preach theism in a house of worship and an atheist enjoys freedom to propagate atheism. Whether he is a believer or not and whether he believes in one religion or another, a citizen of the PRC, according to the constitution, has the duty to love his motherland and support socialism and the leadership of the Communist Party. Today, we are required to work with one heart and one mind and unite to realize the four modernizations under the leadership of the CCP and to build our country into a modern socialist power with highly developed democracy and civilization. For this reason, religious activities should be clearly defined. That is, religion should neither intervene in politics, education and marriage

nor resort to exploitation and oppression. Religious organizations are not allowed to receive subsidies or gifts from foreign religious bodies. That is to say, religious organizations should be patriotic and free and must and should only deal with questions of religious belief.

This policy of allowing freedom to believe in religion is a correct policy formulated on the basis of the fundamental Marxist principles, after making a scientific analysis of religions and in light of the actual conditions in our country.

First, Marxists have carried out a deepgoing scientific investigation of religion by taking it as a social phenomenon and analyzing the social and ideological causes of the birth and development of religion. They hold that religion is an outcome of the oppression by nature and society and a reversed world outlook caused by man's failure to understand the objective laws of nature, society and mankind in given historical conditions. Religion will not disappear until man can effectively resist and conquer the oppression of the forces of nature and society and as long as this oppression, a root cause of the birth and development of religion, exists. Of course, religion will not exist forever. Religious influence weakens and eventually disappears with the development of production, the flourishing of science and technology, the improvement of people's material and cultural lives after the overthrow of the exploiting system, and the heightening of the people's ideological consciousness and cognitive power. However, this will take a very long period of time. As long as religion exists, there are people who want to believe in it. This is an objective fact. At present, a considerably large group of people in China believe in religion. We must respect this objective fact and proceed from the actual situation to consider and draw up a relevant policy.

Second, religious belief is chiefly a question of ideological understanding. An ideological problem can be solved only by the method of persuasion and the method of increasing ideological consciousness. It is a waste of effort to forbid religious belief or "exterminate" religion by means of administrative orders. For different reasons, many people in China and abroad formerly tried to suppress religion by rigid tactics, which might succeed in putting down religious activities for a short while, but, on the contrary, this aroused religious fanaticism and caused religion to develop. Engels severely condemned the attempt to "exterminate religion," calling it a stupid way that "serves God." For this reason, as long as there are people who believe in religion, the state should respect their religious belief and allow them freedom to believe in religion.

Apart from this, the overwhelming majority of the believers are working people. They differ from Marxists in world outlook and from the nonbelievers in understanding. However, this does not prevent people from having a common economic interest and having the same political orientation. To Marxists, the common economic interest and same political orientation mean much more than the difference in religious beliefs. In fact, generally speaking, the contradiction between believers and nonbelievers and between theists and atheists among the Chinese people is not acute and has never developed into a nationwide religious conflict.

This was so during the period of the new democratic revolution and during the socialist period. Almost all believers in our country favor socialism and support the leadership of the Communist Party. Particularly at present, realizing the four modernizations and building our country into a prosperous socialist power are not only the eager hopes of the nonbelievers but also the sincere wishes of the believers. Practicing the policy of allowing freedom to believe in religion will arouse all the more the enthusiasm of the broad masses of believers and lead them to join other people of the country in working concerted to realize the four modernizations.

We should also see that China is a multinational country where different religions are practiced. In our country, religion is often linked with the historical development and the customs and habits of some minority nationalities. For example, 10 nationalities including the Hui, Uygur and Kazakh are Islamic; people of the Zang, Monggol, Dai and Yugur nationalities usually believe in Buddhism (including Lamaism); and the Christian religion has extensive influence among the Miao, Yu and Yi nationalities. Therefore, we should not confuse nationality with religion, but we should realize that nationality issues are closely related to religious issues. Carrying out the policy of allowing freedom to believe in religion is of vital significance in correctly solving the nationality issues, strengthening unity among nationalities and consolidating and developing the Chinese nation as one big family.

Lastly, religion is not only a kind of ideology. It also generates a formidable social force in the international political field. About 61 percent of the world population are believers. Religion holds a decisive position in social matters in those countries which have designated state religions. Practicing the policy of allowing freedom to believe in religion in our country will promote friendly communications and cultural exchanges between the Chinese people and the people of other countries, strengthen unity and cooperation between China and the Third World countries, and greatly benefit the cause of opposing hegemonism and protecting world peace.

These are the reasons why our party and our country practice the policy of allowing freedom to believe in religion. Thus, this policy is not an expedient but a fundamental step to handle religious issues. It is not a short-term but a long-term policy. It is not spurious but is true. Of course, religious activity and feudal superstitious activity should be distinguished from each other and dealt with differently. Religion is a kind of superstition, but feudal superstitious activity is not religious activity. Formerly, the reactionary superstitious sects and all witchcraft and sorcery were banned and not allowed to resume activity. Those who spread fallacies to deceive people or make use of feudal superstitious activity to swindle money out of people or harm people will be dealt with or punished by law according to the severity of their offenses.

MODERNIZATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

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[Article by Ma Shijun [7456 0013 0193], Liu Jingyi [0491 7234 1355], Tang Hongxiao [3282 7703 7197] and Weng Deming [3769 1795 6900]]

[Text] Environmental problems are mainly caused by the rapid development in man's livelihood and production activities, and these problems in turn significantly influence livelihood and production. Therefore, they are problems that will inevitably emerge and must be satisfactorily solved in the modernization of human society.

The contents of environmental problems are extremely diverse and complicated. Here we will merely discuss the following four aspects.

I

The Relationship Between Production Activities in Modern Human Society and the Natural Environment

1. The Natural Ecological Balance and Man's Living Environment

The structure and function of the natural environment: The environment means the space in which man and other living organisms live. This space is filled with many kinds of materials which differ in properties, composition and the method of motion, and which include living organisms, organic matter, inorganic elements, the basic materials essential to man's existence, as well as living organisms and inert things that are harmful to the human body. The quantities of these constituents of the environment as well as their effects on humankind might vary rather substantially with the time, the place and the magnitude of the effects of human activities. Considering the essential compositions of various parts of the environment and considering the constituents that play a dominant role, we can divide the environment into the natural environment, the artificial environment, as well as various types of the ecological environment such as terrestrial, freshwater and marine.

The earth's surface and environs are made up of the atmosphere, the hydrosphere, the soil and the lithosphere. That part which is suitable for sustaining living organisms is called the biosphere. Most living organisms live in the regions of the atmosphere and the waters which are adjacent to land.

In the scores of kilometers or even up to nearly 1,000 kilometers of air above the earth's surface, there is an atmosphere comprising many different gases. It not only contains such elements as carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen, which are essential to biological activities, but also protects the living organisms on the earth from the harmful radiation of various cosmic rays from outer space, as well as prevents drastic changes in the temperature of the earth's surface and prevents the dissipation of water. The waters include oceans, seas, rivers, lakes, swamps and underground water. The seas and oceans hold 97 percent of the total volume of water on the earth and cover over 70 percent of the earth's surface. They are the places where life begins and where many kinds of materials are stored. They not only provide man with rich mineral resources, energy resources and the convenience of navigation, but are also an important source of man's food. The rocks on the earth's surface have gradually given rise to various types of soil after undergoing numerous years of weathering, erosion and biological actions. Soil is the base on which plants grow. It provides plants with minerals, organic fertilizer and water. In sunlight, various plants perform photosynthesis, grow and multiply, form forests, prairies, meadows and so on, and provide man and other animals with food and the requisite ecological conditions. They make possible the energy exchanges and the cycle of materials among the atmosphere, the hydrosphere, the soil and the lithosphere, through such actions as promoting air currents, evaporation and precipitation, so that a limited balancing and regulating mechanism exists in the biosphere.

The cycle of materials and the flow of energy are important functions of nature, and they are often accomplished through the participation and intermediary actions of various groups of living organisms, including plants, animals and microorganisms, except for abiological processes. The ecosystem is the biological-environmental complex which is constituted by the flow of material and energy that results from the interaction of man or groups of living organisms with the environment. Forests, rivers, farmland and towns are ecosystems which differ in nature from one another. Every ecosystem is localized, has its own particular composition, and is governed by some particular laws of material cycles and energy conversion. Thus, some mutually restricting causal relationships between that system and the environment are formed.

The groups of living organisms in an ecosystem are mainly organized in the form of food chains. For example, the algae in water are the food for planktons, which in turn may serve as a food for insects, shrimps and prawns, fishes and so on. These aquatic creatures may in turn serve as food for birds, animals and man. Thus, those which take others as food and those which are consumed by others, from the lower to the higher species, constitute a food chain. Various kinds of food chains interlink to form even more complicated food networks. The living organisms that constitute a food chain or network might not change in species but might change in quantity. A combination of some given quantities of certain fixed species will result in some relationships of interdependence and mutual restriction which enable the growth of the whole system to develop toward a state of stability that results from the optimization of the composition and the equilibrium between inflows and outflows.

A marked feature of material flow in the food chain is the concentrating action of living organisms. Certain heavy metallic elements or other poisonous substances, which cannot be decomposed by nature, originally exist at a low concentration in the environment. However, when they are gradually collected and accumulated through the food chain and then enter the human body, their concentration might increase by several hundred or even several million times, so that they become harmful to the body mechanism. There are also some poisonous substances which do not apparently cause harmful effects when they enter the human body in minute quantities. However, after being accumulated over a long period of time, their effects can be seen. Thus, slow poisoning may be detected.

During the long process of evolution, a relationship of coordination and mutual compensation has been established between the biosphere and the natural ecosystem, and all of nature has attained a dynamic equilibrium. Man has taken part in and adapted himself to this equilibrium. If a certain link changes within certain limits, the whole system can adjust itself appropriately, so that the original equilibrium is not disrupted. For example, smoke which enters the atmosphere will spread and disintegrate and, therefore, gradually become rarefied. The carbon dioxide in the smoke will be absorbed by green plants. Thus, the atmosphere will be purified and the environment will remain clean. This adjustment mechanism is called the self-purification of the environment.

The living environment of modern man is described below. Human activity is always continually affecting and transforming the natural environment. The more modernized society is, the greater will be the difference between the environment in which society finds itself and the natural environment. In particular, in densely populated cities and industrial districts, the local environment differs vastly from the natural environment in composition and in the laws governing changes in the environment. However, there are certain limits to and certain norms governing man's livelihood and survival needs as well as the range within which physiological functions are capable of adapting to changes in the environment. There is also a limit to the variations and quantities of those substances which the natural system can decompose. If the activities of modern man cause violent changes in the natural environment, or the quantities of harmful substances which are injected into the natural ecosystem are too large, so that such changes or quantities surpass the capacity of the adjustment mechanism of the system of nature or surpass the limits within which the living organisms or man can tolerate, then the ecological balance will be disrupted and man and the living organisms will be harmed.

The energy and material flows in the biosphere and the ecosystem follow certain paths and patterns, and various chemical elements combine, decompose, endlessly circulate and are repeatedly used according to certain laws. Therefore, the natural environment and man's living environment together form an indivisible entity if we consider the adjustment functions of the whole biosphere. Therefore, any activities which disrupt the natural balance or interfere with the normal functioning of an ecosystem over a large area will inevitably, directly or indirectly, affect man's living environment.

It can be understood from the above discussion that in nature there are numerous small-scale ecological cycles (or ecosystems), which together constitute a large-scale cycle (the biosphere). Human beings can be regarded as a link which plays an important part in many small-scale cycles--this is the position of man in nature. These easily disturbed cycles were already established over a million years ago. Man cannot survive without the earth's natural environment. Now man is interfering with and disrupting the normal functioning of these cycles as well as the natural ecological balance based on the normal functioning of these cycles.

2. The Utilization of Natural Resources and Environmental Protection

The natural environment is not only the place where man obtains basic substances for the maintenance of life, but is also the base which provides man with raw materials for production and construction. People have gradually come to understand that the environment means resources. Natural resources may roughly be classified into the following three categories according to their nature:

- 1) Ecological resources (also called permanent and fixed resources), such as solar radiation, temperature, water and so on. They do not depend on man's will. They are markedly localized. They can be used forever if we can fully utilize modern science and technology, suit our measures to local conditions and bring the strengths of each locality into play.
- 2) Biological resources, such as forests, prairies, birds, beasts, fishes, insects, fungi and other animals and plants, as well as soil. The characteristic of these resources is that they can regenerate. If they are rationally used as well as managed and nurtured scientifically, they can not only regenerate in an endless cycle, but can multiply in a planned way according to man's will.
- 3) Mineral resources, including coal, oil, mineral ores and so on. These resources are limited in quantity and basically they cannot regenerate. The key to rationally utilizing these resources as well as the need to take preventive measures to reduce the pollution of the environment by their industrial waste byproducts leads to the question of how to adopt combined measures and fully bring the potentials of various substances into play.

Environmental protection is aimed at, first, maintaining a good environment for man, and second, protecting the resources needed by man. These two things should be carried out in coordination so that each supplements the other. Only if we satisfactorily manage the forests, prairies and waters can the biological resources exist forever and play the role of facilitating the self-purification adjustment of the environment. Because some countries indiscriminately use natural resources and improperly dispose of the "three wastes," environmental pollution and disruption have been aggravated. For example, because coal and oil resources are lavishly consumed, the carbon dioxide in the air increases, with a consequent rise in temperature, and nitrogen oxides increase, causing disruption to the ozone layer in the atmosphere. The disruption to the ozone layer will inevitably cause an increase in the amount of ultraviolet radiation reaching the earth's surface, with the adverse consequences of disrupting the climate of the

earth, harming man's health, producing changes in freshwater ecosystems, lower the self-purification ability of natural water and so on. Blindly felling trees in forests and opening up virgin land by destroying forests not only will bring about soil erosion and windy and dusty conditions, but also reduce the role of the forests in environmental adjustment.盲目地开垦荒辟地 and 掠夺性地 exploiting them by allowing animals to graze on them will promote their conversion into deserts. In the whole world, the deserts are rapidly expanding at the rate of 50 to 70 million hectares per year. The plants and animals in natural protection areas constitute a treasure which can be used to improve varieties and increase output. At present, around 25,000 species of plants and over 1,000 species and subspecies of birds, wild animals, fishes and other animals are in danger of extinction because of man's destructive activities which cause environmental deterioration. The latter figure does not include such useful invertebrates and insects as the earthworm. The blind reclamation of land from seas and lakes for cultivation, the building of large dams in violation of ecological laws, as well as the discharge of large quantities of pollutants into rivers, lakes, seas and oceans have led to the conversion of many bodies of freshwater into stagnant bodies of water that are devoid of life, to the pollution of mouths of rivers, and to the nullification of the function of natural water and thermal energy in adjusting the environment. These things illustrate the connection between natural resources utilization and environmental protection.

Moreover, although the developments in modern agriculture, such as the production and use in large quantities of chemical fertilizers, insecticides and weed killers, have promoted agricultural output, they have also damaged the soil composition so that soil loses its regenerative ability. The plentiful use of chemical weed killers in some countries have also led to great losses in fishery. The formation of acidic rain and the discharge of waste gases also directly jeopardize the growth of agricultural crops.

This undesirable state of affairs is owing to the setting of the utilization of natural resources against environmental protection. Large quantities of resources are consumed to fulfill the current output targets, while the effects on the environment are not considered, the overall relationships between resources and the environment are neglected, and the undesirable consequences are not predicted at all. In other words, there is a lack of the concept of viewing the national economic development as a whole.

3. Ecological Laws and Economic Principles Related to Environmental Protection

It has been mentioned that the natural ecosystem is a self-sufficient functioning unit. Plants synthesize inorganic substances into organic matter which becomes food for animals, while the metabolic wastes and remains of animals and plants are absorbed again by the plants after being decomposed by microorganisms. This process is called the metabolism of the ecosystem and it involves certain basic ecological laws, according to which the composition and functioning of the ecosystem are coordinated continually. The coordination between composition and functioning is the prerequisite for the natural system to attain a state of stability. An equilibrium in the inflow and outflow of materials and in gaseous

exchanges is the material basis for attaining a state of stability. Therefore, the natural ecosystem is governed by certain laws which are similar to social and economic laws.

The equilibrium between investments and returns and the consideration of net profits are basic principles in economics. The economic principles in environmental protection should also include the following considerations. First, in an individual item on the removal of certain pollutants, the ratio between the required investment and the benefits must indicate that the item is economically worthwhile. Such a consideration of a single objective represents a general economic principle. Second, if we proceed from the overall situation in considering the gains and losses, take a region or an integrated system of enterprises as our target, adopt comprehensive measures, and bring the effects of combined comprehensive measures into play, then what we do can be said to follow a macro-economic principle which is the ecological-economic principle, because the characteristic of ecology is that it proceeds from the concept of viewing the situation as a whole to analyze the laws concerning the interrelationships of various elements, their coordination and their conversion into one another.

According to the ecological-economic principle, to solve environmental protection problems, aside from paying attention to the handling of individual items, we should also comprehensively consider such major problems of contemporary human society as food, energy resources, population, natural resources and the environment, study their relationships of interdependence and conversion into one another, and look for methods of solving common problems over a wide region. This should be a basic task that must be jointly studied and tackled by the natural sciences and the social sciences in coordination.

On the whole, the natural environment is the space which man relies upon for his existence. Cosmic space is infinite, but the space that is suitable for the survival of man and other living organisms is finite. This is chiefly determined by the physiological adaptive functions of man and other living organisms.

The environment embraces the resources which man depends upon to live. When we consider man's material life and economic construction, man, the natural resources and the environment together form an integrated whole. Natural resources are a constituent of the environment and play an important role in regulating the environment. Any damage to natural resources also damages man's living environment.

Environmental problems are both ecological and socioeconomic problems, because we must apply ecological laws if we want to coordinate the interrelationships between human activities and the environment.

Developments in Environmental Protection Work Abroad

1. Several Stages in the Development of Global Environmental Pollution

Global environmental pollution problems gradually began at the beginning of the industrial revolution in capitalist countries and continued into the early years of the 20th century. During that period, regional environmental problems occurred, such as several successive smog incidents in Britain, which aroused society's attention. In the 1950's, oil was used as an energy resource in addition to coal. After the two world wars, the rapid development of the organic-chemical industry and the automobile industry caused environmental problems to become general social problems.

After the 1950's, industries developed rapidly in the capitalist countries and the problems of environmental pollution intensified. The water, the atmosphere and the soil were more seriously polluted and the effects of noise in cities were marked. The ecology was seriously disrupted. Besides the land, the seas, oceans and the atmosphere were also polluted. In the 1960's, environmental pollution had become a global problem. People have a constantly deepening sense of a future environmental crisis.

2. Measures To Solve Pollution Problems in Other Countries

The principal ways of tackling these problems are: using modern science and technology to check pollution, strengthening scientific research so as to control pollution more scientifically, establishing more stringent legislation, strengthening scientific management, and establishing systems of environmental protection and scientific research that are suited to domestic conditions.

3. New Trends of Environmental Protection Work in Other Countries

After vigorously tackling their problems for more than a decade, the Western capitalist countries markedly improved their environments in the late 1970's. However, the quality of their environments has not been restored. With the continual development of their economies, new environmental problems have been emerging continuously.

1) It is very difficult to restore the environmental systems polluted by harmful substances which are difficult to decompose. For example, the substances accumulated at the bottom of lakes, rivers, mouths of rivers and bays have become new, secondary sources of pollutants. It is difficult to put things right when the harmful substances have accumulated over a long period of time.

2) New pollutants are appearing continuously, and the marked ones among them are those chemical substances that might cause cancer. Every year thousands of new synthetic chemicals appear, and it is not easy to determine their effects or control them.

3) Changes in the use of energy resources have caused new environmental problems. The oil crisis has caused a shift to coal again, bringing about new pollution, particularly to the atmosphere.

4) The enrichment of nutrients in water has become a problem. After large treatment plants have treated domestic sewage, the water still contains large quantities of such nutrients as nitrogen and phosphorus compounds. In addition, large quantities of detergents are used in the cities and are discharged into water. Therefore, the enrichment of nutrients is a marked problem.

5) Increasing attention is paid to the future trend of changes in man's environment. At present, pollutants that affect the natural environment are increasing by multiples. These pollutants will ultimately disrupt the ecological equilibrium of the entire human biosphere and produce effects which will be difficult to reverse.

Reviewing human history, and making efforts in the light of the process of development of modern society, in which social and economic conditions, science and technology as well as the ecological system affect one another, other countries are studying the relationships of interdependence and effects within the environment, the natural resources and the population. In order that economic development can be continued, the environment and economic development must be coordinated, and this coordination should guide the formulation of development programs in various countries.

III

Certain Problems in Our Country's Environment

Since the first national work conference on environmental protection, convened in 1973, our country has formulated principles for environmental protection and has achieved a certain degree of success in environmental work such as the monitoring of pollution, the treatment of the "three wastes," the study of environmental science and the development of various management systems. In 1979, the "Environmental Protection Law (Draft) of the People's Republic of China" was promulgated.

However, we must admit that the pollution and disruption of our country's environment have reached a very serious extent. This is markedly reflected in the deterioration of urban environments, the pollution of rivers, lakes and seas, the disruption of the natural ecology and so on. Before liberation, the cities of our country were irrationally distributed. Since liberation, the towns and cities have developed rapidly. Population densities are high, the distribution of industry is irrational and management is unsatisfactory. Because of these and other reasons, in the towns and cities, air pollution, water pollution and environmental noise pollution have become more serious. It should be noted that our country's environmental pollution tends to be aggravated by economic development.

We will now concisely discuss the problems of air pollution, water pollution, soil pollution and noise pollution.

1. Air Pollution

Air pollution is mainly caused by the burning of such combustible substances as coal, oil and natural gas. There are many kinds of pollution in air, but those which are a relatively serious threat to mankind are the following six substances: dust particles, sulfur oxides, nitrogen oxides, carbon monoxide, ozone, hydrocarbons and so on. Air pollution can be categorized according to its sources into pollution caused by coal and pollution caused by oil. There is also a hybrid of the two types.

Let us discuss the pollution caused by coal. Sulfur dioxide produced by burning coal can be oxidized by air and combine with water vapor to form a sulfurous acid smog, which strongly irritates the respiratory tract. A large quantity of drifting dust particles, particularly those whose diameter is less than 10 microns, will seriously affect our health. When these microscopic particles that are suspended in the air are inhaled, they will accumulate in the lungs and cause bronchitis, pulmonary emphysema or even lung cancer. Certain metals and such substances which cause cancer as 3,4-benzopyrene are often absorbed by these particles.

At present, coal accounts for over 70 percent of our country's energy resources, and oil and natural gas account for 25 percent. The utilization rate of energy resources is lower than 30 percent. Moreover, our country's urban residents use low chimneys for their stoves, and the combustion efficiency of such stoves is only a little over 10 percent. Heating boilers are also small and have a low efficiency. The serious dispersion of combustion units also aggravates pollution.

The problem of lung cancer in cities should be specially mentioned. Lung cancer is the most common type of occupational pulmonary disease in cities. This is thought to be related to such cancer-causing chemical substances as 3,4-benzopyrene and aromatic hydrocarbons which are discharged during the combustion of coal and coke. Sulfur dioxide also promotes cancer. In such municipalities as Beijing and Shanghai, the rate of occurrence of lung cancer is nearly as high as in the large cities of other countries (exceeding 20 per 100,000).

We will now discuss pollution caused by oil. Under strong ultraviolet radiation, the nitrogen dioxide in the air might undergo a series of photochemical reactions with petroleum hydrocarbons and oxygen. The products of these reactions are a number of such strong oxidizing agents as ozone and peroxy-acyl-nitric-ether.

Under certain meteorological and geographical conditions, the photochemical smog formed by strong oxidizing agents can strongly irritate the eyes and the throat, corrode materials, damage crops and reduce visibility. For example, Los Angeles is surrounded on three sides by mountains and receives sunlight all the year round. Several million motor vehicles are constantly discharging large quantities of nitrogen oxides and petroleum hydrocarbons. In summer and early fall, photochemical smogs occur frequently. This problem has not yet been completely solved.

At present, there are not many motor vehicles in our country. However, we must not treat the formation of photochemical smog lightly. In the northwestern plateau, Lanzhou receives intense sunlight and is surrounded on three sides by mountains. There, the petrochemical enterprises discharge large quantities of petroleum hydrocarbons and nitrogen oxides. On many occasions they have caused strong irritation to people's eyes and throats and so on. In summer, the air has been found to contain such strong oxidizing agents as ozone and PAN. These "early symptoms" indicate that photochemical smog might occur in our country with the development of our country's petrochemical industry.

2. Water Pollution

Water is a valuable natural resource. Freshwater accounts for less than 2.7 percent of the total volume of water on the earth, and the quantity of usable freshwater, which merely comprises the surface water in rivers, lakes and so on, in addition to part of the underground water, amounts to less than 1 percent. Although our country has relatively abundant freshwater resources, the per capita average quantity of freshwater is smaller than that of many other countries, such as the United States and the Soviet Union. Moreover, the water sources are not distributed evenly. Many localities suffer from a serious shortage of usable water. A particularly grave problem is that most domestic sewage in urban areas and industrial waste water is discharged into the water untreated. A considerable portion of the pollutants in the air and soil also find their way into the water. Thus, the effects of the pollutants far surpass the self-purification capacity of the waters. The quality of water generally deteriorates, and in the cities the quality is even poorer.

Let us discuss the aqueous environment and water pollution. The aqueous environment refers to the rivers, lakes, seas, underground water and other repositories of water. It includes not only water but also matter suspended in water, the mud at the bottom of rivers, and even aquatic living organisms. The self-purifying action of water refers to the natural reduction in the concentration of pollution in water. Self-purification is mainly effected by such physical purification as diluting and dispersing in the process of water movement, chemical purification such as the oxidation, reduction and decomposing of pollutants, as well as the biological purification by aquatic microorganisms which oxidize or decompose organic matter. Water pollution refers to the deterioration in the quality of water which happens when the effect of the pollutants discharged into the water surpasses the self-purifying capacity of the water.

The pollution of our country's waters is a rather common phenomenon. For example, in a preliminary evaluation of the major rivers and lakes, we took certain principal pollutants as the parameters of pollution and found that from the No 2 Songhua River and Liao River in the northeast, to the Great Canal and Huangpu River in southern Jiangsu, to the Zhu River in the south, the waters have been polluted. The Changjiang River has a powerful capacity for diluting pollutants, but there are a few dozen polluted zones along the river, and its tributary, the Xiang, is also heavily polluted. Such lakes as Dianchi also cannot avoid being polluted.

Let us discuss pollution by heavy metals. Heavy metals, generally speaking, are poisonous elements as mercury, cadmium, lead, chromium, arsenic, and so on, are widely distributed in nature. The main source of pollution by such metals is their release into the environment during the process of mining and metallurgy. In water, they cannot be decomposed by microorganisms, and they can change from one state into various other states, can be dissolved and can be enriched through accumulation. These processes are collectively called the movement and conversion of metals. For example, if large quantities of heavy metals accumulate in the mud around an outlet for discharged water, they might become a permanent secondary source of pollution. At present, although preliminary success has been achieved in treating the sources of pollutants from factories, the movement and conversion of mud which lies at the bottom of rivers and which contains mercury, as well as the effects of the existence of such mud and its treatment, still pose a major problem for study.

Let us discuss the enrichment of nutrients in water. Such nutrients for plants as nitrogen and phosphorus are valuable in promoting plant growth, but the excessive discharge of nutrients into natural waters will cause the quality of water to deteriorate, affect the development of fishery and jeopardize man's health. With the development of modern industrial and agricultural production, in particular the development of the chemical fertilizers industry, an ever increasing quantity of nutrients will participate in the cycle of matter on the earth's surface. Only part of the chemical fertilizers applied on farmland is absorbed by the crops, and an overwhelming majority of the remaining nitrogen compounds are carried into the underground water and the surface water by the flow of surface water or in the draining of farmland. If such agricultural wastes as the stalks of plants and animal wastes are not rationally used, they might also become a source of nitrogen compounds in the water. Surveys conducted a few years ago showed that the large quantity of underground "enriched water" in our country, which contains nitrogen in the form of nitrous and nitric acids, originates from agricultural and domestic sewage. The lavish use of detergents containing phosphorus cause domestic sewage to contain a larger quantity of phosphorus. In the developed industrial countries, over a third of the phosphorus in the domestic sewage from the cities originates from the use of detergents.

The "enrichment of nutrients" represents the degeneration of water. It means that the increase in the quantities of nutrients for plants in water leads to the proliferation of such aquatic living organisms as algae, which consume the dissolved oxygen in water, so that fishes in the water cannot survive. Frequently, domestic sewage flows into rivers and lakes, causing the "enrichment of nutrients" which affects the quality of the water and affects the resources of aquatic living organisms. With the development of industrial and agricultural production, with the improvement of the standard of living of people living in cities, and with the great increase in the quantities of chemical fertilizers and detergents used, the problem of the enrichment of nutrients in water will be aggravated.

Let us discuss marine pollution. The prevention and treatment of marine pollution are an important aspect of global environmental protection. Large quantities of pollutants from the land are carried by the rivers into seas and oceans. They

accumulate in the mouths of rivers, bays and harbors. The extraction of oil from the sea and transportation of oil by sea also cause pollution. Our country has a very long coastline and abundant marine resources. At present, the mouths of rivers and ports at Dalian Bay, the Yellow Sea, the Bohai Sea and so on have been polluted to various extents by such pollutants as oil, heavy metals and so on. With the continuous development of coastal industries, communications and international trade, and with the opening up of marine oil resources, the prevention and tackling of marine pollution will become an important task for our country.

3. Soil Pollution

Land resources are an important material basis for agricultural production as well as the material basis which man relies upon for survival. They are extremely valuable natural resources. The use of land resources involves many environmental problems, such as the problems of population growth and expansion of cultivated area, damage to vegetation, soil erosion, the degeneration of prairies, the conversion of land into deserts, the buildup of alkali in soil as well as soil pollution.

Soil is a complicated system in the natural environment. Soil, the atmosphere, the water, the living organisms and other natural elements affect one another. Through production activities man extracts resources and energy resources from nature, which, after undergoing mining, processing, allocation and consumption, are directly discharged into the soil system or indirectly discharged into it through the atmosphere, the water and the living organisms, in the form of the "three wastes." When the discharged "three wastes" disrupt the original equilibrium of the soil system, soil pollution will occur. When the substances which pollute the soil system are injected into the environment, they will further pollute the air, the water and the living organisms. Therefore, another important task in environmental protection is to study the causes of soil pollution, the movement and changes of pollutants in the soil system as well as the control and management of soil pollution.

In agricultural production, when fertilizers and pesticides are applied and when farmland is irrigated, pollutants will also enter the soil and then accumulate. This is an important cause of soil pollution. Moreover, soil has always been where solid wastes, garbage and sewage are treated. Thus, large quantities of pollutants enter the soil. Pollutants in air or water also frequently pollute soil when they undergo movement or conversion. For example, the sulfur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide in the air "fall in a dry state" into the soil and acidify it. Irrigating with dirty water can also pollute the soil.

In our country's agricultural modernization, the lavish use of pesticides and chemical fertilizers, the consumption of energy resources by agricultural machinery, the proliferation of medium-sized and small industrial enterprises, the construction of medium-scale and small irrigation projects as well as the building of large chicken- and pig-raising farms will bring about a series of agricultural environmental protection problems.

4. Noise Pollution

Noises in the cities constitute another important type of modern environmental pollution. Research has revealed that a noise level of 45 decibels can affect people's sleep and a noise level of 60 decibels will affect people's work and study. Very loud noise will cause a series of nervous and cardiovascular reactions and various kinds of illnesses. A noise level of 175 decibels can be fatal. Other countries have taken noise as one of the three major types of pollution in the world and they are rigorous in controlling it. Among the letters concerning environmental pollution from the masses of people in such large municipalities of our country as Beijing and Shanghai, those complaining about noise are most numerous, amounting to over half of the total number. According to actual measurements, the intensity of urban noise in such cities as Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Nanjing and Hangzhou is over 80 decibels. In some streets and districts, the intensity of noise is as high as 70 decibels even at night. This problem has not yet been satisfactorily solved.

A principal source of urban noise is traffic noise. In the cities of our country the traffic noise is generally louder than in other countries. The traffic noise in Beijing, which has less than 200,000 vehicles, is louder than in Tokyo, which has over 2 million vehicles. Therefore, it is an urgent task to solve the problems of traffic noise and factory noise.

IV

An Examination of Our Country's Policies on Environmental Protection

Complete scientific investigations into and analyses of the overall situation of environmental pollution in our country have not been done. However, according to the available partial information and certain marked examples, environmental pollution and the disruption of the ecological balance in our country are very serious. We think we should pay attention to the following areas:

1) We must correctly handle the relationship between the environment and development, formulate overall plans, bring about rational distribution, and conscientiously incorporate environmental work into our national economic plans.

Environmental problems are closely related to a country's energy resources composition, natural resources utilization, population growth, industrial and agricultural distribution, municipal and rural construction and so on. In formulating national economic plans, we must first of all do a good job of planning for comprehensive equilibrium and work according to ecological laws and economic laws. We certainly must not achieve rapid economic growth at the cost of wasting resources and sacrificing the environment.

We must take prevention as the principal measure in our country's environmental protection. The dismal road of "first pollution, then treatment," which has been taken by other countries, has provided us with lessons of bitter experiences. At the beginning of our four modernizations construction, we should pay attention to avoiding the creation of new forms of pollution or to minimizing the damage.

of new forms of pollution. In selecting sites for major construction projects, determining the distribution of industrial and agricultural production, undertaking pollution control projects for newly built enterprises and so on, we should take the overall situation into account and make our plans as rationally as possible.

2) We must actively tackle the pollution caused by the existing enterprises through a combination of many different means.

There are several hundred thousand enterprises in our country. The causes of pollution by these enterprises can be classified into the following three categories. First, pollution might be caused by the lack of general or scientific knowledge, or by poor management. Such pollution can be prevented by means of ideological education and by strengthening legislation and management. Second, pollution might be caused by the use of simple and crude equipment or by backward technology. This problem can be solved by improving the equipment or technology or by means of simple technical treatment. Third, pollution might be caused by incompleteness in the equipment installed in construction projects or by the existence of complicated problems in the technological process. Such pollution can be eliminated only by installing additional large-scale equipment or improving the technological process, by launching scientific research and by putting forward scientific treatment schemes. Generally speaking, the first two categories of causes are in the majority and the last category applies to a minority of cases. When we eliminate pollution that is caused by the first two categories of causes, we should reap substantial economic benefits. Therefore, we should assign priority to investments for tackling such pollution. In some cases, if a small investment is sufficient for tackling pollution, we should also resolutely tackle it. We can classify the other cases of pollution according to the gravity and urgency of the problem as well as the extent of the harmful effects of pollution, assign different orders of priority to various cases, determine what are the focal tasks, and tackle the various cases of pollution in groups and in different periods of time. When deciding on the projects for tackling pollution, we should try our best to adopt economical and effective new developments in modern science and technology, employ a combination of many different means, develop comprehensive utilization, turn harmful substances into useful ones, and turn the wastes from one factory into the raw materials for another. Moreover, we should fully exploit the self-purification action of the environment for eliminating pollution. For example, we might use trees to purify the air and reduce noise, build ponds for purifying and oxidizing sewage, grow water hyacinth to purify dirty water, use waste materials to produce marsh gas and so on. These are good methods which require little investment but yield substantial results. Moreover, we must use such new theories and technology as systems theory, cybernetics and ecological economics to integrate such links as enterprise management, technological innovations and improvements, projects for tackling pollution, comprehensive utilization, environmental self-purification and so on. We must integrate the prevention and treatment of pollution with the rational opening up of energy resources and natural resources, and integrate the prevention and treatment of urban pollution with municipal planning and transformation, so that our limited funds can be used most efficiently. Then, the quality of our country's environment will gradually improve.

3) We must vigorously develop scientific research and continuously raise the standard of the science of environmental protection.

The environments for human beings exhibit conspicuous local and social characteristics. Every country has its own special environmental protection problem. To take foreign experiences as our reference and integrate them with our national conditions, and to formulate policies concerning environmental protection in our country, we must urgently and vigorously launch strategic scientific research work so that a scientific basis is made available for formulating policies. Although over the past few years our country has made a start in studying environmental science and technology, our work has been rather disorganized and patchy. Some overall basic research work items have yet to be started, and some of these work items have just been started. Examples include the formulating of policies concerning our country's energy resources system and concerning the prevention and tackling of air pollution, the problem of building large-scale sewage treatment facilities in our country, the overall appraisal of using industrial waste water to irrigate farmland, the basic composition of our country's pesticides, the evaluation of the major polluted areas and the environmental quality of water, the study of the municipal ecological system, the prediction of our country's environmental conditions and so on. Environmental science is a highly comprehensive science which has developed in man's struggle with the environment. At present, it is rapidly developing in the direction of greater depth. We must pay attention to its trend of development. It examines the behavior and functioning mechanism of various pollutants at the atomic and molecular level, and also studies the dynamic laws governing various environmental systems within the scope of a community, a whole process, a region or even the whole world. It provides a basis for the comprehensive evaluation and scientific management of various environments as well as for making forecasts about them.

Environmental science will continue to permeate the social sciences. Environmental economics and environmental management studies can be said to be important products of the combination of the technological sciences, the natural sciences and the social sciences, and they represent a trend of development in environmental science. Our country has a weak foundation in this area and there is an urgent need to make a start. To manage the environment scientifically and to conscientiously insure the implementation of the "Environmental Protection Law," we must set criteria for environmental quality and criteria for assigning the order of priority and allocating investment and so on.

(Editor's note: This article was originally the lecture notes of ecologist Ma Shijun and environmental chemist Liu Jingyi, who used them in giving a lecture to the party Central Committee's Secretariat, they abridged their notes for publication.)

CSO: 4004

ESTABLISH AND DEVELOP SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ADVISORY ORGANS IN CHINA

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[Article by Jin Liangjun [6855 5328 3182]]

[Text] The birth of a "general staff" or counselor corps and of advisory organs arose from the daily increasing complexity of the activities and practices of modern society. The appearance of a "general staff" corps in the early part of the 19th century indicated that the degree of complexity of modern warfare was increasing and that the military commander must rely on the collective wisdom of a "general staff" corps to help him in his military command functions.

Mankind's scientific and technological activities have likewise gone through the process of evolving from simplicity to complexity. The complexity of modern scientific and technological activities arises specifically from the following:

First, the scale of scientific and technological activities has increased greatly. At present, the amount of funds spent on scientific and technological research by the countries of the world and the number of research personnel employed by them have more than doubled. Research projects such as those on astronavigation and atomic arms frequently require the mobilization of hundreds of thousands of participants. The organization of a modern large-size scientific and technological project requires the employment of a team of experts on various subjects to help in planning, organizing, coordinating and decisionmaking.

Second, the relationship between modern scientific and technological activities and society in its various phases is becoming closer and closer and increasingly complex. Combining science and society has become a special feature of present-day society. Scientific and technological activities and living in society are combining to form a complicated organic whole. Decisions in modern science and technology concern not only the related scientific and technological fields but also frequently the national economy, politics and the various phases of society. The decisionmaker frequently has to solicit the help of scientific and technological specialists as well as social scientists.

Third, modern scientific and technological activities require the combined knowledge and assistance of many branches of learning. For example, research in oceanology requires the close cooperation of experts on such fields as geology, geography, biology, chemistry, physics, meteorology, astronomy, etc.

the fact that modern scientific and technological problems have become increasingly "multistructural" and comprehensive in character, an expert in one branch of learning is unable to handle alone the planning and control of complex scientific and technological activities or the decisionmaking on scientific matters.

Fourth, the volume of intelligence and reports of modern science and technology has increased sharply as has the number of scientific and technological accomplishments in the history of the development of science and technology. In solving an important scientific and technological problem, we must have on hand a large number of reports and past records. We must do comparatively systematic study and research on relevant conditions both in the country and abroad and review a large number of related books, magazines and reference materials. Obviously, this amount of work cannot be handled alone by the decisionmaker or by a single adviser.

The above-mentioned four points illustrate the fact that in order to make correct decisions and handle the various complex problems in modern scientific and technological activities, it is impossible to rely solely on the wisdom of the leader (no matter how talented he is). On the contrary, it is necessary to set up an advisory organ of experts to help in decisionmaking and management work.

At the present time, our country still lacks an understanding of the importance of the science of decisionmaking and the science of management and control. The level of our management and control work concerning scientific and technological projects is still very low, and we are accustomed to the use of administrative measures to lead scientific and technological work and to reliance on a small number of leaders and scientific and technological experts for decisionmaking on matters of great importance. Because of the lack of scientific organization and control, the limited amount of scientific and technological funds at our disposal cannot be fully utilized. Also, owing to the failure to do penetrating research and investigation in advance and the inability to obtain more extensively the views of relevant experts, the planning and execution of certain large projects on scientific and technological items have actually entailed rather considerable losses to the state.

For the purpose of improving and strengthening the control over scientific and technological work, simultaneously with the selective appointment to leadership positions in science and technology of young and strong scientific and technological personnel who insist on following the socialist road and who possess technical knowhow and are adept in organization work, we should actively set up and promote the development of organs engaging in research work on scientific and technological policies and on management and control. We recommend that the government departments in charge of scientific and technological control should, starting with the State Scientific and Technological Commission, the Academy of Sciences, and the scientific and technical cadres bureaus of the various government departments, set up their "general staff" corps or counselors' offices specializing in such lines of work as scientific research and management, technological policies, scientific and technological forecasts, technological assessments, technological economics, systematic analysis, and scientific and

technological intelligence and research--all of which should be done according to actual needs and in a selective way.

The task of a "general staff" corps should be to do independent research on various scientific and technological policies, strictly following the guidance of the general line and policy of the state. Their recommendations should be supported by scientific analysis and must have a scientific basis. They should weigh the pro's and con's and should follow the doctrine that everything has only one aspect.

Modern scientific management requires the establishment of a "general staff" corps, and specialized scientific and technological advisory organs must also be set up and promoted. Research on management science and the science of decision-making must be actively promoted, and "hard science" and "soft science" must be coordinated. All the above constitute the important conditions for speeding up the development of science and technology in our country. They deserve the important attention of the departments concerned.

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